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THREE GERMAN DIALECTS IN BARRHEAD, ALBERTA. PHONOLOGY AND INTERFERENCE

by

GERDA ISOLDE ALEXANDER (C.)

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THREE GERMAN DIALECTS IN BARRHEAD, ALBERTA. PHONOLOGY AND INTERFERENCE submitted by Gerda Isolde Alexander in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Sept. 25, 1975

To my parents

Hans and Irma Kummermehr

ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with three German dialects spoken in Barrhead, a town seventy-seven miles north-west of Edmonton, Alberta. The settlement was established in 1906, and grew steadily with the need for new farming land for immigrants from various places in Europe. According to the census figures of 1971, about one third of the town's population gave German as their ethnic background.

The linguistic situation of the German ethnic group in Barrhead was found to be complex. Therefore three dialects were selected as being representative for the dialects spoken in the community: Volhynian German, Swabian and a Low German dialect.

The first concern of this study was the phonology of the three dialects. The material for each phonology was gathered from one main informant by tape recording the informant's translation of the forty Wenker sentences into his dialect. This information was supplemented by tape recordings of free conversation.[1]

Outstanding features of the dialect phonologies are: Volhynian dialect: 1. occurrence of voiced velar fricative for voiced velar stop, 2. lack of front rounded vowels. Swabian dialect: 1. lenis articulation of stops 2. occurrence

[1]The tapes of the material are kept in the Department of Germanic Languages at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Alberta.

of voiced fricatives for voiced stops, 3. lack of front rounded vowels, 4. lowering of vowels before /r/, 5. occurrence of lip-rounded /a:/. Low German dialect: 1. unshifted stops, 2. lack of front rounded vowels, 3. tendency to diphthongization.

The second concern of this study was the interference in the phonology. Interference was detected by comparing dialect features with corresponding features of norm dialects, and also by looking for inconsistency and instability of features in the dialects, and elements foreign to the dialects. Standard German was found to be the main source of interference due to its status as the prestige dialect. Interference from other dialects was relatively small. No interference from English was recognized.

With regards to phonology, German dialects in a community such as Barrhead appear to be levelling out in the direction of Standard German.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank all those who have helped me in the course of this thesis, in particular my informants Mr. and Mrs. R. Gross, Mr. and Mrs. F. Greilach, and Mr. and Mrs. G. Wahl for their hospitality and cooperation; Pastor J. Anderson of the Lutheran Church in Barrhead, and his wife for introducing me to the informants; my supervisor Dr. R. d'Alquen for constant help and encouragement in the initiation and completion of this thesis; Dr. M.L. Marckworth for suggesting a reorientation with respect to phonology.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Introduction

The problem of this thesis belongs to the more general concern with the status and life-history of immigrant dialects in a new country. More specifically here, the interest is centred on German dialects spoken in the Province of Alberta, Canada.

Several previous studies provide excellent precedents to encourage further work in this field.

Elisabeth Gerwin did a survey of the German-speaking population of Alberta.[1]

John Arbuckle[2] deals with the phonology of the Volhynian German dialect in the Edmonton area. Based on one main informant, the phonetic transcriptions convey the impression of Standard German with dialectal coloring rather than of a real dialect.[3]

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[1]Elisabeth Gerwin, "A Survey of the German-Speaking Population of Alberta." M.A. Thesis (University of Alberta, 1938).

[2]John Arbuckle, "The Phonology of the Volhynian German Dialect of the Edmonton Area." M.A. Thesis (University of Alberta, 1961).

[3]Manfred Richter, "Die deutschen Mundarten in Kanada." In: Seminar Vol. III, 1 (1967), 62.

Richard d'Alquen[4] deals with the phonology of the Galician German dialect of Stony Plain some twenty miles from Edmonton. Based on one informant, this represents a 'Swabian' idiolect with Rhenish-Franconian features.

Elvire Eberhardt[5] makes the Bessarabian German in Medicine Hat the topic of her study. It includes, besides the phonological description of the dialect, chapters on morphology, the relationship between Middle High German and Bessarabian German, and the influence of Standard German and English on the dialect. Based on two groups of informants, Bessarabian-born and Canadian-born, the chapter on influence from Standard German and English shows interesting results.

When I was asked to make the linguistic situation of the town of Barrhead the topic of my M.A. thesis, I discovered that instead of one main dialect, there were several dialects spoken in the community, and therefore the task could not be handled in quite the same way as the preceding studies. Since one of the interests in Linguistics in recent years has centered on the problem of language change and the development of languages in contact in

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[4] Richard d'Alquen, "The Phonology of the Galician German Dialect of Stony Plain, Alberta." M.A. thesis, (University of Alberta, 1962).

[5] Elvire Eberhardt, The Bessarabian German dialect in Medicine Hat, Alberta. Diss., (University of Alberta, 1973).

bilingual settings,[6] a different approach for this study was suggested: to describe a certain number of dialects spoken in the community and to examine them as to possible interference from various sources in the heterogeneous linguistic surroundings. Assuming that the phonology takes priority when tackling a new subject in order to create a basis for further investigation in morphology, syntax and lexicon,[7] the description of the phonology of the dialects was taken as the basic material [illegible] supplemented by some work on interference, which the presence of more than one dialect made possible.

The community of Barrhead with its heterogeneous linguistic population is likely to be typical of many others in Alberta. Although the linguistic material comes from a small number of informants, thus taking into account features of idiolects as well as dialect features, it was expected that this study would reveal to some extent general features of development among dialects in communities such as Barrhead.

The selection of informants was greatly helped by the pastor of the Lutheran Church and his wife, who were familiar

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[6] Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (The Hague: Mouton, 1964). Einar Haugen, Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide (Drawer, Alabama: University Press, 1956). Glenn G. Gilbert, ed., The German Language in America. A Symposium (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1971).

[7] Richter, Seminar, III, 65.

with most of the German speakers of the town. With their help, I was introduced to several persons from whom a selection was made, based on their fluency in German and their availability for the interviews. Another important consideration in selecting informants was to choose dialects which were diverse enough in their main features to be representative of a cross-section of the community.

2. Introducing the Informants

Mr. and Mrs. Gus Wahl

Mr. and Mrs. Gus Wahl came to Canada in 1930 from Stanisławów, Poland, some thirteen kilometers north of Warsaw on the Vistula. They homesteaded after coming to Meadowview, Alberta. They used to speak a low German dialect in Poland which is called Weichselplattdeutsch. According to the informants, this type of Platt was spoken in villages all along the River Vistula from Warsaw up to Danzig,[8] with very little modification from village to village. Mr. Wahl estimated that in 1930 out of six neighbouring villages between Stanisławáw and Warsaw roughly 3000 people used the Weichselplattdeutsch. It was spoken in the homes with friends and neighbours. Before World War I, Russian and Standard German were taught in the schools, and Standard German was also the

[8] See map in Appendix B.

language used by the church. This changed after World War I, when Polish became the only language in the schools, while Russian and German ceased to be taught. The Protestant church service continued, but in Polish only.

The Wahls used to speak the Platt regularly until about ten years ago, when Mrs. Wahl's brother, who had been the one to keep the dialect going, died. Since then, Mr. and Mrs. Wahl resorted to speaking exclusively Standard German in the house as well as with German-speaking friends and neighbours. As I was not interested in Standard German, they tried to remember the old dialect, which came back to them rather quickly once they had set their minds to it. Mrs. Wahl seemed to have fewer difficulties in recall than her husband, and so the recordings were made from her speech.

Mr. and Mrs. Friedrich Greilach

Before coming to Canada, the Greilachs had lived in Bečmen, Yugoslavia, a German community mixed with Serbs, near Semlin[9] (now Zemun). Mrs. Greilach was born in a village only a few miles from Bečmen, where the Germans were a minority among the Serb population. Both their parents were also born in that country. It was both their grandparents, originally from Bavaria or Austria (the informants were not certain about that point), who

[9]See map in Appendix C.

had come from a German colony in the Bačka, Yugoslavia, and had settled in daughter colonies in the area around Semlin.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Greilach grew up speaking German and Serbian equally well. School instruction was in Serbian excepting one or two hours per week, when Lutheran religious instruction was given in German. According to the informants there were German schools in the area. Since they were run by another church, Lutherans like the Greilachs were not admitted.

The reason for immigrating to Canada in 1926 was the scarcity and high price of farming land, and hence bad prospects for their children's future. From friends who had immigrated to Canada earlier, they heard about the big country with unlimited amounts of land at low prices. They arrived with three small children under the age of four, and had two more later in Canada. They bought a farm in Mellowdale, County Barrhead, Alberta, which they managed until a few years ago, when their sons took over and the parents retired to Barrhead town.

Although before coming to Canada the Greilachs had spoken Serbian as fluently as German, they now seem to have forgotten most of the Serbian. English was acquired as a second language rather slowly, because the main language in the home, on the farm and with neighbours was their German dialect. Now the English language is basically mastered, but since it still seems secondary to their own

dialect, it is not really fluent. They call their German dialect /švebiš/. It is understood by the other Barrhead German speakers, although the latter consider that the Greilachs speak 'funny', which indicates that something like a norm exists that does not include /švebiš/.

When they lived on their farm in Mellowdale, contact with other Swabian speakers from their European homeland kept their dialect alive and relatively free from influence by other languages or dialects. In the meantime a number of the older members of those families have died, and most of the younger generation speak neither their dialect nor any German at all. The Greilachs' own five children do understand a basic minimum of their parents' dialect, but they do not speak it. It then seems as if the Greilachs are the only ones presently speaking the Swabian dialect in the town of Barrhead. I was told that there are Swabian speakers in Mellowdale at the present time. Mr. F. Greilach has died since the completion of the field work for this study.

Mr. Rudolf Gross

Rudolf Gross was born in 1900 in a German-speaking community in the district of Lutsk in Volhynia, Russia.[10] German was the language spoken in the home, with neighbours

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[10]See map in Appendix D.

and friends. His schooling, however, was done in Russian, the official language of the country, with the exception of the instruction of 'Catechism' and 'Biblical History', which was taught one hour a day in German.

He immigrated in 1924 to Saskatchewan, Canada, where he joined his older brothers and sisters who had immigrated to Canada before World War I. One year later, in 1925, he moved to Alberta, where he worked as a farm labourer. Only much later did he acquire his own farm in Barrhead County. The linguistic situation had remained basically stable for him, as German was still the language of home, friends and neighbours, while Russian was now replaced by English. The latter he taught himself, partly by reading. As a farm labourer working at different jobs the knowledge of English seemed necessary to him.

He is married to a Canadian-born daughter of German-speaking immigrants from Volhynia. Husband and wife speak the same German dialect. It could not be determined whether Mrs. Ida Gross spoke exactly this dialect as a child.

Since Mr. Gross has come to Canada, the linguistic situation in rural communities has changed, and his German-speaking is now limited to a smaller group of older people composed of his wife and friends, most of whom, like himself, are part of the Lutheran congregation. Both Mr. and Mrs. Gross told me that they now speak much less

German than formerly due to lack of opportunity, and consequently with less fluency and greater interference from English. Of their children, the two older ones understand German and speak a limited amount; the youngest one, however, never learned German, because English was already exerting its influence within the family at that time. He is now a unilingual English speaker. The two older ones would possibly give German as their mother tongue in a census count, meaning 'first language learned' although, the language they speak best and most often is English.

Mrs. Ida Gross

Mrs. Ida Gross was born in 1910 in Nisku, Alberta, of German-speaking parents who had come as a young couple from Volhynia, Russia. Mrs. Gross spoke only German until she started grade school. Only then did she learn to speak English, because it was the language of instruction. Sunday school provided instruction in German, as did 'summer school' also, a type of instruction given by the church during the summer holidays. She feels that her German has deteriorated due to lack of opportunity to speak it. Still her German is fluent and contains less interference of lexical nature than her husband's speech.

3. Field methodology

The interviews started with unstructured conversations, encouraging the informants to talk about general topics

such as their work, house and family, and their accounts of the circumstances and reasons for coming to Canada. I thereby had a chance to get acquainted with the dialects, and the informants had a chance to become familiar with the purpose of the investigation and with me, and also to lose a certain shyness towards the tape recorder, which was used from the start. An analysis of such recordings is, however, insufficient for a complete and systematic description. A more structured approach was therefore necessary. Several methods are available to obtain material for a linguistic description. I decided on using the forty Wenker sentences,[11] which had provided the material for the Deutscher Sprachatlas (Linguistic Atlas of Germany). The forty Wenker sentences were handed to each informant, who was given a few minutes to read the text. Then he was asked to read the sentences aloud in his dialect. The material gathered in this way was written down in phonetic transcription using basically the symbols of the IPA.[12] From this an ideolectal phonological description was

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[11] After Georg Wenker who in the years 1879-1887 used these forty sentences in a survey sent throughout Germany, in order to gather material for the Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reiches. The Deutscher Sprachatlas edited by Ferdinand Wrede, 1926 ff. in Marburg is based on it.

[12] Three symbols were added or modified where necessary: [ʃ] voiced palatal fricative, [š, ž] voiceless and voiced palato-alveolar grooved fricatives.

established by describing the occurring sounds compared with the phonology of a norm dialect. The Wenker sentences ensured a complete range of sounds occurring in each dialect; the tapes containing the free conversation were used to clear any doubts.

4. Attitude of the Informants

All the informants were very cooperative, which made the interviews easy and pleasant. Once the purpose of the interviews was understood, all were eager to produce the 'real' version of their dialect, often repeating a sentence several times to make sure of the correct rendering of the dialect. In this the main informant was often helped by husband or wife.

The Swabian speaker provided a surprise: I had expected a more genuine pronunciation in free conversation than in reading the sentences. For this informant the opposite was true: he took great pains during the conversation to speak as clearly as possible in a version of his dialect close to Standard German; it was obvious that he was concerned that the Standard German speaking investigator would misunderstand him. When reading the sentences, however, he appeared unconcerned about the content, and therefore spoke a much more natural version of his dialect.

I also noticed a different degree of awareness in each informant with respect to what he felt to be features

of his own dialect, and what he felt to be foreign elements in his dialect. This was noticeable when the speaker corrected certain items in his speech.

The interviews took place during the summer months of 1973-1974, and lasted an average of one to one and a half hours. Each informant was seen three or four times.

5. Settlement History

Barrhead is a town in northern Alberta, Canada, seventy-seven miles northwest of Edmonton, situated on Highway 18 and just two miles off the historic Klondike Trail. It is the western terminal of the Busby-Barrhead branch of the Northern Alberta Railway. With a town population of 2,803 according to the 1971 census report, the town serves a large mixed farming area with a trading population of over 14,000.

The history of the town dates back to 1906 when, with the building of the CPR, the Government advertized free land for settlers and the area was first surveyed for homesteads. The original hamlet was founded in 1912 at a site somewhat north of the present town site, and was named after a town in Scotland, from which some of the early settlers emigrated. The hamlet was moved in October 1927 south to its present site where the Northern Alberta Railway would reach the Barrhead area. A month later, on November 14, 1927, Barrhead became a village. In November 1964 Barrhead was incorporated as a town.

The first settlers to take up homesteads in 1907 came mainly from the United States or European countries where farming land was running short and the sons of families were forced to look elsewhere for new land. This first influx of settlers stopped at the outbreak of World War I. After the war returning soldiers provided another influx to the area. During the nineteen thirties the fear of another war brought many Europeans who were willing to take over even the poorer land that nobody had wanted. This homesteading went on up to 1940. It is believed that in the period between the two wars most of the German settlers came to the Barrhead area. After World War II the type of settling changed from homesteading to the purchasing of the land. Again a large number of refugees from Europe and people unsettled through the events of the war, came to the area to start a new life. Also, from within Alberta a number of German settlers from Stony Plain turned north to the Barrhead farming district to look for more good farming land.

In the 1971 census report 835 people of the town gave German as their ethnic background, which amounts to a little less than one third of the total population. Only 445 gave German as their mother tongue (i.e., first language learned), which corresponds to somewhat more than one sixth of the total town population. Since the first language learned is not always the language which is spoken later,

the figure representing German speakers in Barrhead would be smaller yet.

Census Report 1971

Local, regional and national German population

	Total Population	Ethnic Background German	Mother Tongue German
Barrhead Town	2,803	835	445
Barrhead County Nr. 11	5,029	1,745	1,045
Alberta	1,627,874	231,005	92,805
Canada	21,586,311	1,317,200	561,085

(County excludes town and villages)

The figures indicating the German ethnic background and mother tongue do not appear in the official census report print-out. They were obtained from microfilms upon personal request at Statistics Canada.

TABLE I

The present part of the population in Barrhead with a German background, meaning ethnic as well as linguistic, is therefore not a homogeneous group if one considers time of, and reason for immigration, place of origin in the old country, church affiliation, and dialects spoken. It is true, however, to say for the situation in Barrhead what Franz Tierfelder states for Canada, excluding a few recent arrivals:

> Sie (die Deutsch-Kanadier) sind junges Auslanddeutschtum und im Unterschied zu den Stammesverwandten im Nachbarland (U.S.A.) vorwiegend Auswanderer aus volksdeutschem Siedlungsgebiet der Sowjetunion.[13]

The town of Barrhead provides retiring farmers from the outlying farms with a place for retirement. Thus the town has a large population of older people and therefore probably represents the highest percentage of German speakers in the area. This statement contradicts the statistical figures of the census report as shown in Table I, where for Barrhead county, excluding town and villages, proportionally more people gave German as their mother tongue than for Barrhead town. This contradiction is, however, easily explained by the definition of the term 'mother tongue' as it is used in the census report, which means 'language first learned'. (See comment above.) One may therefore conclude that the retired people in Barrhead town, who are not Canadian-born, are the ones who represent the main body of German speakers, while the relatively younger population of the outlying farms, which is made up of a considerable number of Canadian-born descendents of the former immigrants, do not use German as their main language of communication, although German could have been their first language learned.

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[13] Franz Tierfelder, "Deutsche Sprache im Ausland", Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß, ed. Wolfgang Stammler, Vol. I (Berlin: Emil Schmitt Verlag, 1966), p. 1435.

Most Germans were found to be grouped around three churches, the Lutheran Church, the Pentecostal Congregation, and the Gottesgemeinde. The first two churches offer a service in German in addition to the English service. Sunday school in German at the Lutheran Church stopped around 1960. The reason for this seems to have been a lack of cooperation from part of the parents, who would not speak German in their home. Sunday school had come close to being a second language instruction rather than fulfilling its religious purpose. Since June 1975 a weekly Bible study hour in German was introduced by the Lutheran Church. The Gottesgemeinde, already a small congregation, has split into a German-speaking group and an English-speaking group, each having their own place of worship. The German-speaking group conducts their service in German, as well as Sunday school and a children's choir. For all three churches it is true that the German service is attended mainly by the older generation, while the younger Canadian-born generation prefers to attend the service in English.

The schools in Barrhead do not use any other language of instruction but English. German is offered at the high school level as an alternative to French as a second language. The writer was told, however, that French is the choice made by most students.

There seem to be no clubs or organizations with German affiliation. This leads to the conclusion that the

churches with their religious and social activities, provide the principal, if not only environment, apart from house and family, where the German language is used.

Within the family, German is spoken by most European-born couples whose mother tongue is German. In most cases German is understood by their children, who will most often use English for communication even with their German-speaking parents. The situation becomes even more unfavourable for German where intermarriage with English speakers excludes German for communication, and the native German parents, who by now are all bilingual, will resort to English. The third generation, that is the grandchildren of the former immigrants, now at about school age, only very rarely even understand the German which their grandparents speak.

6. History of the Dialects

The Low German Dialect in the Region of the Vistula[14]

In tracing the historical facts concerning the Low German dialect of this study, we are led to West Prussia in the north-east corner of the German Reich as it appears on a map of 1939.[15] The boundaries of this dialect region,

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[14]Main reference for this section apart from the ones cited in the footnotes: Walter Mitzka, "Die deutsche Sprache in Westpreussen" in Kleine Schriften zur Sprachgeschichte und Sprachgeographie (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968).

[15]See map in the Appendix B.

which Walter Mitzka refers to as westlich Niederpreussisch[16] (West Low Prussian), consist of the Baltic in the north (Gulf of Danzig), the Middle German dialect border in the south, roughly parallel with the upper course of the Vistula, a north-south line from Putzig to Bromberg in the west, and a rather irregular line in the east which runs south from Labiau, and south-west from Lötzen. The river Vistula cuts the region into two uneven parts.

West Low Prussian is a Low German dialect with possible Low Franconian characteristics[17] from a period of settlement in the Middle Ages, and Low Saxon traits from settlers who arrived during the 16th century. A large Middle German speaking island between Allenstein, Elbing and Heilsberg, and a smaller Upper German speaking island between Thorn and Kulm were located within the West Low Prussian dialect area before 1945.[18]

Early colonists had come from Middle and Low Germany; hence the dialects of those colonies were partly East Middle German, partly Low German.[19] More Low German settlers

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[16]Walter Mitzka, Deutsche Mundarten (Heidelberg: C. Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1943), folded map in cover.

[17]Walter Mitzka, Grundzüge nordostdeutscher Sprachgeschichte (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1937), p. 52.

[18]Hugo Moser, Deutsche Sprachgeschichte (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1965), p. 191.

[19]Ibid.

came from the western low countries in great numbers during the 16th and 17th centuries, many of them refugees from the Thirty-Years-War. Experienced dikebuilders, they worked their way up along the flood-threatened banks of the Vistula and almost reached Warsaw.[20] Numerous among those Low Germans were the Mennonites. The original Low German dialect which they had brought into the Vistula region during the 17th century, was lost in the local Low Prussian dialect. The struggle of the German language to survive in a Polish speaking country lasted for centuries. The linguistic situation at the beginning of the 20th century is the result of cultural and political changes of nearly seven centuries. Polish was the official language, the German Protestant Church in this region had adopted Standard German as its language, while the Low German dialect, called Weichsel-plattdeutsch,[21] continued to be spoken in the homes and with friends. The Barrhead informants for this dialect reported that it was still spoken between the two world wars along the Vistula towards Warsaw in clusters and chains of German speaking villages, which were isolated in Polish speaking territory.

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[20] Walter Mitzka, Deutsche Mundarten, p. 77-78.

[21] Platt refers to the dialect being of Low German origin.

The 'Donauschwaben' and their Dialect[22]

The Donauschwaben (Danube Swabians), as they call themselves, are located in three different regions in Yugoslavia, one which extends from Yugoslavia partly into Hungary, and one from Yugoslavia partly into Roumania.[23]

The term 'Swabian' (schwäbisch) is used loosely by the speakers of various East-European colonial dialects when referring to their speech. In the stricter sense Swabian refers to a Germanic tribe and the group of dialects spoken by its descendants (e.g. around Stuttgart). With the East-European immigrants this term in its looser sense has come to North America.

In Yugoslavia there seem to have been variants of the dialect due to strict religious segregation: Protestant and Catholic groups, allowing no intermarriage and little socializing, developed their own speech particularities. Nevertheless there seems to be an overall standard in the language, which allows one to refer to it as a 'Swabian' dialect.

During the first part of the 18th century, the first German colonists came into the Banat and the Bačka from various regions of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. The Black Forest, Alsace, Lorraine and the Palatinate were some of

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[22]Pavel Brežnik, Die Mundart der hochdeutschen Ansiedelung Franztal in Jugoslawien (Haale/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1935), pp. 5-9.

[23]See map C in Appendix.

the more prominent regions from which the settlers came in great numbers. A dialect mixture was the result. Immigration continued throughout the 18th century. Around the beginning of the 19th century, German settlers began to leave the Banat and the Bačka to found daughter colonies in Slavonia, which is situated south of the mother colonies, roughly between the rivers Drava, Sava and Danube. It was during that period that Mr. and Mrs. Greilach's grandparents came from the Bačka to settle in new communities near the city of Zemun (Semlin) in Slavonia,[24] and it was from there that the Greilachs emigrated to Canada.

In the speech of this area we find a mixture of the dialects of the first colonists, containing mainly characteristics of the west central regions of Germany, which could be roughly centred in the Rhenish-Franconian area. According to Brežnik, the levelling had taken place already during the early period of colonization;[25] later settlers accepted this already existing dialect even when they had originated from different parts of Germany.

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[24]Brežnik, p. 6.

[25]Ibid., p. 61. The comment there made by Brežnik applies to the community of Franztal. Since the situation of Franztal and the village of our informant show a certain parallelism, Brežnik's comment was seen as general for related situations.

The Volhynian Germans and their dialect[26]

The pioneer German-speaking settlers in Volhynia,[27] a territory now partly Polish and partly Ukrainian, were the Holländer-Mennonites. They arrived after 1818, and were joined shortly after by Protestant colonists originally from Augsburg, who had settled previously in Poland. They were encouraged by the Czar to convert the underdeveloped marshlands into farmland. Around 1870, however, the German colonists experienced hostility from the regime, and consequently started to emigrate in large numbers to North America. This movement increased as a result of the Russian Revolution and the two world wars. After World War II Volhynia was incorporated entirely into Russia. The fate of the Volhynian colonies since the end of World War II is unknown.

The Volhynian German dialect belongs to the ostmitteldeutsche (East Middle German) dialect region. Walther Mitzka refers to it as being closely related to the Silesian dialect:

> Die Wolhyniendeutschen sprechen meist Schriftdeutsch auf schlesischer Grundlage. Sie fanden sich während des 19. Jahrhunderts, aus dem östlichen Warthegau weiterwandernd, in Wolhynien zusammen.[28]

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[26] K. Karasek-Lück, Die deutschen Siedlungen in Wolhynien, (Plauen, 1931), taken from J. Arbuckle's bibliographical references, however not presently available.

[27] See map in Appendix D.

[28] Walther Mitzka, Deutsche Mundarten, p. 82.

CHAPTER II

PHONOLOGY

As the writer of this thesis I should state that my mother tongue is Standard German with a dialect colouring of the Hesse-Palatinate transition dialect. This was the background against which the Barrhead dialects were subjectively considered. I was easily able to identify with both the Swabian dialect, which is Upper German just as is my own dialect, and the Volhynian German dialect, which is close to Standard German. This was not the case with the Low German dialect. Except for a few word sequences which sounded familiar, I had to rely on the Standard German version of the Wenker sentences to understand the Low German of the informant. Therefore, unlike the other dialects, a free conversation in that dialect was not possible.

In all three dialects an inconsistency in the use of certain features was noticeable. As a result, the sound systems are unstable, which was the reason for avoiding a purely phonemic description for the phonologies. Also the data available from the dialects proved insufficient for a formal establishment of phonemes; this is due to lack of minimal pairs and a full set of examples in the corpus for a full range of allophonic position. It is, neverthe-

less, sufficient to set up what seems to be a phonemic system, backed by one's knowledge of similar dialects and the linguistic influences at work in the particular community under study. Examples from the dialects will be presented in an orthography which represents an assumed phonemic spelling, and also in a broad phonetic script. The assumed phonemic spelling will be marked by underlining, e.g. piet [pʰeʔtʰ] 'Pferd'.

The procedure consists therefore of taking an expected subsystem as a norm where possible, regarding deviations from the norm as possible examples of interference from various sources. This is based on the assumption that a dialect shielded from all outside influence would develop a typical system. Furthermore imbalance or irregularity in the system is also regarded as a possible clue to areas of interference.

1. Description of the Low German Dialect

Spoken by Mrs. Gus Wahl, compared with the Mönsterländsk Platt as a norm dialect.[1]

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[1] R.E. Keller, German Dialects, Phonology and Morphology, Chapter VII "Westphalian: Mönsterländsk Platt" (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), pp. 299-338.

Consonants

Consonants of the norm dialect:

I.	Stops:	voiceless aspirated fortis	/p t k/
		voiced unaspirated lenis	/b d g/
II.	Fricatives:	voiceless fricatives	/f s š x/
		voiced fricatives	/v z ɣ/
III.	Sonants:	nasals	/m n ŋ/
		liquids	/l r/
		semivowels	/j h/

I. Subsystem: Stops

Norm dialect: voiceless aspirated fortis /p t k/
occur in all positions.

The corresponding sounds of the Low German dialect spoken in Barrhead are in agreement with the norm dialect:

p	piet	[$p^h e{:}^{ə} t^h$]	'Pferd'
	šlepə	['šle:p^hə]	'schlafen'
	piepə	['$p^h i^{ɛ} p^h$ə]	'Pfeffer'
	rɪp	[rɪp^h]	'reif'
	uop	[ʔu$^{ə}p^h$]	'Affe'
t	tidə	['t^hi:də]	'Zeiten'
	zɛtə	['zɛt^hə]	'sitzen'
	het	[he^{ɪ} t^h]	'heiss'

	vuotə	['vuᵊthə]	'Wasser'
	šten	[šteᵻn]	'Stein'
	jretə	['jřeᵻthə]	'grösser'
k	kʊkə	['khʊkhə]	'Kuchen'
	šmɔkə	['šmɔkhə]	'schmucke' (schöne)
	kuokt	[khvᵊkth]	'kocht'

Norm dialect: voiced unaspirated lenis /b d g/. They all occur initially, /d/ and /g/ occur also medially.
The corresponding sounds of the Barrhead dialect are in agreement with the posited norm:
b occurs in initial position only, voicing is optional. Occurrences of medial b are due to outside influence.

ba:stə	['ba:stə]	'am besten'
bliedə	['bleᵊdə]	'Blätter'
blievə	['bliᵊvə]	'geblieben'

d occurs initially and intervocalically. Voicing is optional in initial position.

da:stɪx	['da:stɪç]	'durstig'
drɪŋkə	['dřɪŋkə]	'trinken'
dɪ	[dɪ]	'dich'
tidə	['thi:də]	'Zeiten'

bliedə	['bleᵊdə]	'Blätter'

g occurs rarely:

a) in loans from High German

gra:s	[ǧra:s]	'Gras'
gɔ	[gɔ] (only stop loaned)	'geh'
mɔrgə	['mɔɤgə]	'morgen'

b) in a few examples which indicate a special historical development (development of stops from geminated semivowel /w/ or /j/).[1a]

jʊgəm	['jʊgəm]	'eurem'
hɔgə	['hɔgə]	'hauen'
bʊgə	['bʊgə]	'bauen'

Where g occurs in variation with j, g is due to influence from Standard German.

glef	'glaube'
jɪevə	'glauben'

II. Subsystem: Fricatives

Norm dialect: voiceless fricatives /f s š x/, /s/ and /x/ occur in all positions, /f/ initially

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[1a] See footnote 15, p. 69.

and finally, /š/ only initially.

The corresponding f and x of the Barrhead dialect are in agreement with the posited norm, s and š deviate in some aspects.

f (Voiceless labiodental fricative) occurs in initial and final position.

flexə	['fleˑɨə]	'fliegen'
fleš	[fle:š]	'Fleisch'
lef	[leˑf]	'liebes'
blɪf	[blɪf]	'bleibe'
vif	[vi:f]	'Weib'
glef	[gleˑf]	'glaube'

s (Voiceless alveolar fricative) occurs medially and finally. In the norm dialect /s/ occurs in all positions, while in the Barrhead dialect the alveolar sibilant occurs initially with voicing.

a:sə	['ʔa:sə]	'Ochsen'
va:sə	['va:sə]	'wachsen'
ja:s	[ja:s]	'Gänse'
za:s	[za:s]	'sechs'

š (Voiceless palato-alveolar grooved fricative). The norm dialect is abnormal in its use of /š/, since it occurs initially only. In the Barrhead dialect it occurs in all positions.

šnexə	['šneʝə]	'schneien'
šva:t	[šva:t^{h}]	'schwarz'
dra:šən	['dřa:šən]	'dreschen'
nɪšt	[nɪšt^{h}]	'nichts'
fleš	[fle:š]	'Fleisch'

x occurs with three variants:

1. as voiceless velar fricative [x] initially, and after back vowels:

xans	[xans]	'ganz'
xot	[xo^{ˇ}t^{h}]	'gut'
laxən	['laxən]	'lachen'
nɔx	[nɔx]	'noch'
naxt	[naxt^{h}]	'Nacht'

2. as voiceless palatal fricative [ç] after front vowels in final position:

flex	[fle^{ɪ}ç]	'Pflege'
zaix	[za^{ə}ç]	'sag'

3. as voiced palatal fricative [ʝ] intervocalically after front vowels and liquids:

flexə	['fle^{ɪ}ʝə]	'fliegen'
zexə	['ze^{ɪ}ʝə]	'Segen'
mɔrxə	['mɔrʝə]	'morgen'

If it were not for a few words with intervocalic x, e.g. laxən 'lachen', which support a contrast with the intervocalic ɣ, e.g. laɣən 'lagen', the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] could be said to be a variant of x. In this aspect the Barrhead dialect agrees with the norm dialect.

Norm dialect: voiced fricatives /v z ɣ/.
/v/ occurs initially and medially, /z/ and /ɣ/ only medially.

The corresponding v and ɣ of the Barrhead dialect are in agreement with the posited norm; z deviates.

v (Voiced labiodental fricative) occurs initially, intervocalically and after liquids.

vin	[vi:n]	'Wein'
va:də	['va:də]	'Wetter', 'wieder'
uovənt	['ʔuᵊvənthˀ]	'Abend'
blievə	['bliᵊvə]	'geblieben'
havə	['havə]	'haben'
gəštɔrvə	[gə'štɔr̆və]	'gestorben'

z (Voiced alveolar fricative) occurs initially and intervocalically. The norm dialect does not have a voiced alveolar fricative in initial position.

zɛstə	['zɛstə]	'Schwester'
hizə	['hi:zə]	'Häuser'
pla:tizə	['pla:thˀ,ʔi:zə]	'Bügeleisen'
ezəl	['ʔe:zəl]	'Esel'

ɣ (Voiced velar fricative) occurs medially after back vowels.

bətroɣə	[bə'tr̆o:ɣə]	'betrogen'
voɣə	['vo:ɣə]	'gewogen'

III. Subsystem: Sonants

Norm dialect: nasals /m n ŋ/. /m/ and /n/ occur in all positions, /ŋ/ occurs medially and finally.

The corresponding m n ŋ of the Barrhead dialect occur in agreement with the posited norm.

m (Bilabial nasal)

ma:lk	[ma:lk]	'Milch'
kuomə	['kʰuᵊmə]	'kommen'
epəlbem	['ʔɐpʰl̥,beᵻm]	'Apfelbäumchen'

n (Apico-alveolar nasal)

nɔx	[nɔx]	'noch'
vnə	['ʔvnə]	'unten'
brun	[brŭ:n]	'braune'

ŋ (Velar nasal)

brɪŋə	['brŭɪŋə]	'bringen'
drɪŋkə	['drŭɪŋkʰə]	'trinken'
laŋ	[laŋ]	'lange'

Norm dialect: liquids /l r/. They occur in all positions, /r/ weakened in final position.

The corresponding l and r of the Barrhead dialect are in basic agreement with the posited norm.

l (Clear voiced alveolar lateral)

lef	[leᵻf]	'liebes'
štoulə	['štoᵊlə]	'gestohlen'
ma:lk	[ma:lk]	'Milch'
fɪl	[fɪl]	'viel'

r occurs as alveolar trill [r̆] or as single flap [ɾ] before vowel:

rodə	['r̆o:də]	'roten'
rexə	['ɾe:ɣə]	'Regen'

Postvocalically it occurs either as single flap [ɾ], or as long mid central but tensed vowel [ə̣], or as short, mid central lax vowel [ə].

The tendency of this dialect to lose the r completely after a: and final ə, and to use an off-glide for r after vowels, appears to be a variant of the pattern of the norm dialect, where /r/ is often vocalized in post-vocalic and preconsonantal positions.[2]

mərgə		['mɔɾgə]	'morgen'
pert	piet[3]	[p^he^{ə}t^h]	'Pferd'
fvrt	fuot[3]	[fv^ə:t^h]	'gefahren'
vort		[vo^{ə}t^h]	'Wort'
hir		[hi^ə]	'hier'
bietə(r)	bietə[4]	['bɪ^ə t^{h}ə]	'besser'
va:də(r)	va:də[4]	['va:də]	'wieder'
šva:(r)t	šva:t[4]	[šva:t^h]	'schwarz'
ba:(r)st	ba:st[4]	[ba:st^h]	'Bürste'
da:(r)p	da:p[4]	[da:p^h]	'Dorf'
da:(r)stɪx	da:stɪx[4]	['da:stɪç]	'durstig'

[2]R.E. Keller, p. 304.

[3]These are alternate spellings for pert and fvrt, when r is manifested as a vowel.

[4]The spelling without r was adopted as the correct spelling for this dialect.

Norm dialect: semivowels /j h/ occur initially only. The corresponding j and h[5] of the Barrhead dialect occur in agreement with the posited norm:

j (Voiced palatal glide)

jidə	['ji:də]	'jeden'
ja:s	[ja:s]	'Gänse'
jest	[je:st^{h}]	'gehst'
jretə	['j̆re:t^{h}ə]	'grösser'

h (Voiceless glottal fricative)

hus	[hu:s]	'Haus'
het	[he^{ɪ}t^{h}]	'heiss'

The norm dialect lacks the High German affricates /ts/ and /pf/. The Barrhead dialect lacks pf as well, but shows a few occurrences of ts and tš:

bɛtskə	['bɛtskə]	'bisschen'
fatš	[fatš]	'fertig'
tšɛkmuokə	['tšɛk,mu^{ɔ}k^{h}ə]	'reparieren'

Chart of contrastive consonants

	bilabial	lab.-dent.	apic.-alv.	alv.-pal.	pal.	velar	glottal
stops	p b		t d			k g	
fricat.		f v	s z	š		x ɣ	h
nasals	m		n			ŋ	
laterals			l				
trills			r				
glides					j		

[5] h is listed as semivowel following the classification of the norm dialect by R.E. Keller, p. 311-312.

Chart of consonant variants

	Bilabial	lab.-dent.	apic.-alv.	alv.-pal.	pal.	velar	glottal
stops	p^h b b		t^h d d			k^h g	
fricativ.		f v	s z	š	ç ɛ	x ɣ	h
nasals	m		n			ŋ	
laterals			l				
trills			r̆ ɾ ə ə				
glides					j		

Vowels

While the consonantal system of the Mönsterlänsk Platt lent itself readily to a norm system, the vowel system appeared too complex to serve in this context. The Low German vowels differ greatly from dialect to dialect, and there are only few vowel characteristics which apply to Low German dialects in general: the West Germanic long vowels ī and ū are preserved as long monophthongs, and diphthongization especially before r is frequent.

Therefore no norm dialect will be posited for vowel subsystems in the Low German Dialect of Barrhead, but the vowels will be described as they occur, following in order the points of articulation from front to back.

I. Front vowels: i I e ɛ.

i (Upper-high front lip-spread tense vowel)

im	[ʔi:m]	'ihm'
hizə	['hi:zə]	'Häuser'
vif	[vi:f]	'Weib'
fiər	['fi:ʔ]	'Feuer'

I (Lower-high front lip-spred lax vowel)

Is	[ʔIs]	'Eis'
tIt	[t^hIt^h]	'Zeit'
kInt	[k^hInt^h]	'Kind'

e The variants of e range from an upper-mid front lip-spread tense vowel [e:] to a diphthong, which can have for its first element the upper-mid front vowel with off-glide to high-front, or the lower-mid front vowel with the same off-glide. Cases of off-glides seem to be favoured by a following palatal consonant.

jest	[je:st^h]	'gehst'
erə	['ʔe:řə]	'eher'
fleš	[fle:š]	'Fleisch'
lexə	['le^Iʝə]	'liegen'
flexə	['fle^Iʝə]	'fliegen'
het	[he^It^h]	'heiss'
šten	[šte^In]	'Stein'
ke	[$k^hɛ^I$]	'Kühe'
he	[$hɛ^I$]	'er'

ɛ This vowel ranges from a lower-mid front lip-spread lax short vowel [ɛ] to an upper-low, slightly more central lip-neutral lax short vowel [æ].

ɛpəl	['ʔæpʰl̩]	'Äpfel'
zɛstə	['zɛstə]	'Schwester'
dɛš	[dɛš]	'Tisch'
vɛlə	['vɛlə]	'wollen'
brɛnt	[brɛntʰ]	'gebrannt'

II. Central Vowels: a: a ə.

a: (Low central lip-neutral vowel, which sometimes can occur with slight lip-rounding).

a:bə	['ʔa:bə]	'aber'
a:lə	['ʔa̤:lə]	'alle'
ba:st	[ba:stʰ]	'Bürste'
va:sə	['va̤:sə]	'wachsen'
va:də	['va:də]	'Wetter', 'wieder'
ha:də	['ha:də]	'sie hätten'

a (Upper-low central lip-neutral vowel)

andərə	['ʔandəřə]	'andere'
dat	[datʰ]	'das', 'daß'
naxt	[naxtʰ]	'Nacht'

ə (Upper-mid central lip-neutral vowel)

də	[də]	'die'
dəm	[dəm]	'dem'
štuolə	['štoᵊlə]	'gestohlen'

III. Back Vowels: u ʊ o ɔ.

u (Upper-high back rounded tense vowel)

uzəm	['ʔu:zəm]	'unserem'
brun	[brŭ:n]	'braune'
burə	['bu:rŭə]	'Bauern'
hus	[hu:s]	'Haus'
ju	[ju:]	'euch'

ʊ (Lower-high back rounded lax vowel)

ʊnə	['ʔʊnə]	'unten'
pʊnt	[p^{h}ʊnt^{h}]	'Pfund'
fʊnə	['fʊnə]	'gefunden'
kʊkə	['k^{h}ʊk^{h}ə]	'Kuchen'

o The variants of o range from an upper-mid back rounded tense vowel [o:] to a diphthong, which can have for its first element the upper-mid back rounded vowel with off-glide to high back, or the lower-mid back rounded vowel with the same off-glide.

orə	['ʔ o^{ʊ}rŭə]	'Ohren'
ol	[ʔo:l]	'alte'
kolə	['k^{h}o^{ʊ}lə]	'Kohlen'
donə	['do^{ʊ}nə]	'getan'
zo	[zɔ^{ʊ}]	'so'

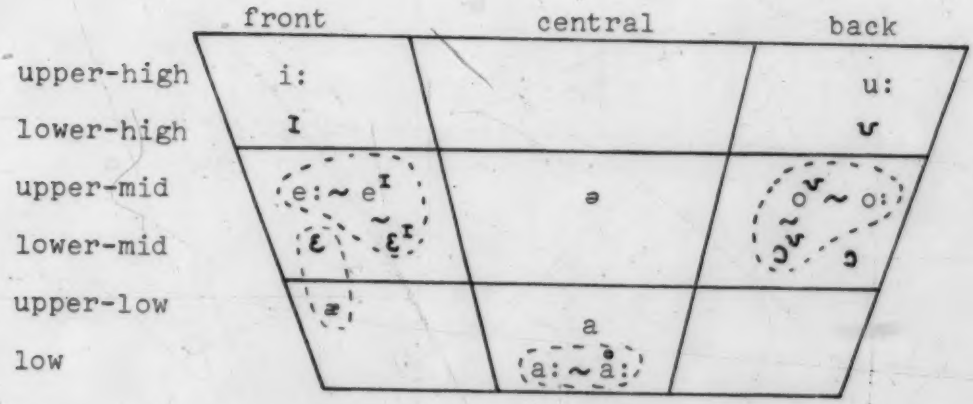
ɔ (Lower-mid back slightly rounded lax short vowel)

ɔpherə	['ʔɔp,he:rŭə]	'aufhören'
lɔtə	['lɔt^{h}ə]	'lassen'
šmɔkə	['šmɔk^{h}ə]	'schmucke' (schöne)
mɔrgə	['mɔɾgə]	'morgen'

šlɔ	[šlɔ]	'schlage'
fərstɔ	[fə'stɔ]	'verstehe'

There are no front rounded vowels in this dialect, except for one occurrence ['føjəl] 'Vögel', which must be seen as an outside influence.

Chart of Vowels Including Variants



IV. Diphthongs

There are three diphthongs in the Barrhead Low German dialect, ie ai and uo. In addition there are the variants of e and o, which occur as diphthongs, [eᴵ], [ɛᴵ], [oᵛ], [ɔᵛ].

ie The quality of this diphthong is characterized by a palatal vowel moving toward the centre.

piepə	['pʰiᵊpʰə]	'Pfeffer'
bietə	['bɪᵊtʰə]	'besser'
frietə	['fřiᵊtʰə]	'fressen'
bliedə	['bleᵊdə]	'Blätter'
blievə	['bliᵊvə]	'geblieben'

vies	[viᵊs]	'Wiese'
piet	[pʰeʔtʰ]	'Pferd'

ai The quality of this diphthong is characterized by an upper-low central vowel moving toward upper-mid front.

šlaixtə	['šlaᵉçtʰə]	'schlechte'
zaixə	['zaᵉɟə]	'sagen'
jlaix	[jlaᵉç]	'gleich'

uo The quality of this diphthong is characterized by a vowel in the upper back quarter of the vowel diagram moving toward the centre.

muokə	['muᵓkʰə]	'machen'
uop	[ʔuᵓpʰ]	'Affe'
vuonə	['vuᵓnə]	'gehen'
kuomə	['kʰoᵉmə]	'kommen'
vuotə	['vuᵓtʰə]	'Wasser'
kuolə	['kʰoᵉlə]	'Kohlen'
fuot	[fvʔtʰ]	'gefahren'

Morphophonemic variation occurred among the consonants as well as the vowels. The list below is restricted to phonologically conditioned variation.

Morphophonemic variation between consonants:

a. Caused by devoicing in final position.

v	f				
		blievə	blif	'geblieben'	'bleib'
		jlevə	glef	'glauben'	'glaube'

b. Uncertainty caused by influence of Standard German.

g	j	gɔ	jest	'geh'	'gehst'
		glef	jlevə	'glaube'	'glauben'

Morphophonemic variation between vowels:

a. Caused by shortening before final voiceless consonants.

i	ɪ	tidə	tɪt	'Zeiten'	'Zeit'
ie	ɪ	blievə	blɪf	'geblieben'	'bleib'
uo	ʊ	muokə	mʊk	'machen'	'mach'

b. Caused by reduction of length in sentence-unstressed words.

a:	a	da:t	dat	'das' (also 'daß')
		va:də	vadə	'wieder'
		ha:t	hat	'er hat'

2. Description of the Swabian Dialect

spoken by Mr. F. Greilach,

compared with the dialect of Franztal as a norm dialect[6]

CONSONANTS

Consonants of the norm dialect:

I. Stops: voiceless fortis /p t k/

with aspiration initially.

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[6]Pavel Brežnik, Die Mundart der hochdeutschen Ansiedelung Franztal in Jugoslawien. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle/Salle, 1935. Franztal is a daughter colony with settlers from other Swabian mother colonies. It can be assumed that the dialect of Franztal is already a levelled dialect, and therefore probably typical of Swabian. According to the Swabian informant, Franztal was only a few kilometers from his home village. Brežnik did not make a phonemic analysis for the Franztal dialect; his information was adapted by the author of this thesis in order to serve as a norm dialect.

II. Fricatives: voiceless fricatives /f s š x h/
voiced fricatives /v j/

III. Sonants: nasals /m n ŋ/.
liquids /l r/.

I. Subsystem: Stops

Norm dialect: there is no voiced/voiceless opposition with regards to the stops. /p t k/ are voiceless fortis with slight aspiration initially. They occur in all positions, /t/ occurs medially as a voiceless lenis stop. The corresponding sounds of the Barrhead dialect agree only in some aspects with the norm dialect.

Barrhead dialect:

p (Voiceless bilabial fortis stop) occurs in all positions, with slight aspiration initially and finally.[7]

pʊnt	[pʰʊntʰ]	'Pfund'
kštɔrp	[kštɔřpʰ]	'gestorben'
ɛpi	['ʔɛ pi]	'Äpfel'

The occurrences of voiced lenis stops, b d g, caused a problem. Lacking in the norm dialect, they occur in the Barrhead dialect varying from voiceless lenis stops to weakly voiced lenis stops and fully voiced lenis stops. The fact that they occur sometimes fully voiced, led to the decision to establish b d g as contrastive

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[7] Aspiration in general is not strong in this dialect. Equally, the voicing is only relative within the dialect; it would be considered weak compared with Standard German voicing.

segments. This deviation from the norm dialect will be discussed in the chapter dealing with interference.

b occurs initially.

blɛtər	['blɛd̥əɾ]	'Blätter'
bɐršt	[bɐ̆ršt^{h}]	'Bürste'

t (Voiceless apico-alveolar fortis stop) occurs initially and finally as fortis, medially as voiceless lenis stop.

tɪš	[t^{h}ɪš]	'Tisch'
sa:t	[sa:t^{h}]	'sagte'
tet	[t^{h}ɛ:t^{h}]	'täte'
tsaitə	['tsa^{ə}d̥ə]	'Zeiten'
blɛtər	['blɛd̥əɾ]	'Blätter'
vɛtər	['vɛd̥əɾ]	'Wetter'

d occurs initially and medially.

dɛr	[dɛɾ]	'der'
vidər	['vi:dəɾ]	'wieder'

k (Voiceless velar fortis stop) occurs in initial and final position with aspiration. Medially it occurs as a voiceless velar lenis stop, while the norm dialect has a voiceless fortis in this position.

kɔxə	['k^{h}ɔxə]	'kochen'
kolə	['k^{h}o:lə]	'Kohlen'
štɪk	[štɪk^{h}]	'Stück'
a:gəblɪk	['ʔa:ɣə,blɪk^{h}]	'Augenblick'
drʊknə	['dr̆ʊg̊nə]	'trockenen'
pɪkə	['p^{h}ɪg̊ə]	'picken'
trɛkɪxə	['tr̆ɛg̊ɪçə]	'schmutzigen'

g occurs initially as voiced velar lenis stop [g]; a variant occurs medially after back vowels as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ].[8]

g	glaix	[gla^{e}ç]	'gleich'
	gɛstər	['gɛstəɾ]	'gestern'
	a:gəblɪk	['ʔa:ɣə,blɪk^{h}]	'Augenblick'

II. Subsystem: Fricatives.

Norm dialect: voiceless fricatives /f s š x h/. /f/ /s/ /š/ occur in all positions, /x/ occurs medially and finally, /h/ occurs initially only.

f (Voiceless labiodental fricative) occurs in all positions. It is in agreement with the posited norm.

fliən	['fli:ən]	'fliegen'
fəiər	['fa^{e}əɾ]	'Feuer'
pfɛfər	['pfɛfəɾ]	'Pfeffer'
af	[ʔaf]	'Affe'
sef	[sɛ:f]	'Seife'

s (Voiceless apico-alveolar fricative) occurs initially and finally, and medially after short vowel.[9] (Medially after long vowel: see voiced fricative z).

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[8] Where g occurs medially as a stop, it is due to outside influence: ['fe:gəl] 'Vögel'.

[9] This tendency towards complementary distribution between s and z medially is described by J. Arbuckle, "Phonology of the Volhynian German Dialect of the Edmonton Area," M.A. Thesis (University of Alberta, 1961), pp. 49-50. It will be referred to in the following as the "Arbuckle feature."

sɛks	[sɛks]	'sechs'
sauvər	['saᵊvəɾ]	'sauber'
bɛsər	['bɛsəɾ]	'besser'
grɔs	[gr̆ɔs]	'gross'
gɛns	[gɛns]	'Gänse'

An exception is haisər ['haᵉsəɾ] 'heisser', where s occurs after a long vowel.

The deviation of the Barrhead dialect from the norm dialect consists in the restricted use of s in medial position.

š (Voiceless palato-alveolar grooved fricative) occurs initially and finally. Medially it occurs with voicing. Similarly to s, the deviation from the norm dialect consists in the restricted use of the voiceless fricative by medial voicing.

švarts	[švar̆ts]	'schwarz'
šenə	['še:nə]	'schöne'
kraišə	['kr̆aᵉžə]	'schreien'
flaiš	[flaᵉš]	'Fleisch'

x (Voiceless velar or palatal fricative) occurs medially and finally, as voiceless velar fricative [x] after back vowels, and as voiceless palatal fricative [ç] after front vowels, liquids and in the diminutive suffix -chen.

In the norm dialect [x] and [ç] occur in complementary distribution based on the preceding vowel. In the Barrhead dialect, they occur in the same distribution,

except that [ç] occurs also in the diminutive suffix -chen. Since -chen as a diminutive suffix is foreign to Swabian, and seems to be outside influence from Standard German in our informant's speech, the variants [x] and [ç] are grouped under one independent sound x.

maxə	['maxə]	'machen'
ɔxsən	['ʔɔxsən]	'Ochsen'
hox	[ho:x]	'hoch'
šla:x	[šla:x]	'schlage'
gəprɔx	[gə'b̥řɔx]	'gebrochen'
mɪlx	[mɪlç]	'Milch'
rɛxt	[řɛçt^{h}]	'recht'
trɛkɪxə	['tř̥ɛgɪçə]	'schmutzigen'
mauərxən	['ma^{ə}ɐçən]	'Mäuerchen'
šefxən	['šɛ:fçən]	'Schäfchen'

h (Voiceless glottal fricative) occurs initially before vowel, often in place of a glottal stop. The glottal fricative of the Barrhead dialect is in agreement with the norm dialect, except for the feature of replacing a glottal stop by the fricative, which is probably a feature of the informant's idiolect rather than a dialect feature.

hʊnt	[hʊnt^{h}]	'Hund'
haizər	['ha^{e}zəɪ]	'Häuser'
haiər	['ha^{e}əɪ]	'Eier'
honə	['ho:nə]	'ohne'

Norm dialect: voiced fricatives /v j/. They occur initially and medially, /j/ medially only after /r/. In the Barrhead dialect there is an additional voiced fricative, z.

v (Voiced labiodental fricative) occurs initially and medially[10] in agreement with the norm dialect.

vɪntər	['vɪn̥dəɾ]	'Winter'
vasər	['vasəɾ]	'Wasser'
avər	['ʔavəɾ]	'aber'
ovət	['ʔo:vəth]	'Abend'
livəs	['li:vəs]	'liebes'
óvə	['ʔo:və]	'Ofen'

z (Voiced apico-alveolar fricative) occurs intervocalically after long vowels.[11]

vaizi	['va˙zi]	'weisse'
grezər	['gr̆e:z̬əɾ]	'grösser'
haizər	['ha˙zəɾ]	'Häuser'

An exception is bɪzəl ['bɪz̬l] 'bisschen', where z occurs after a short vowel.

This sound does not occur in the norm dialect.

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[10] Where b occurs medially instead of v, it must be attributed to outside influence: ['ʔa:bəɾ] 'aber' instead of ['ʔa:vəɾ].

[11] "Arbuckle feature", cf. footnote 9, p. 43 of this chapter. Because of the exceptions, z is considered an independent contrastive segment.

ʝ (Voiced palatal fricative) occurs initially and intervocalically after front vowels and liquids.

ʝa:	[ʝa:]	'ja'
ʝedə	['ʝe:də]	'jeden'
ʝɛts	[ʝɛts]	'jetzt'
gəlɛʝə	[gə'lɛʝə]	'gelegen'
bɛrʝə	['bæřʝə]	'Berge'

In the norm dialect /j/ does not occur intervocalically. In this point the Barrhead dialect deviates.

III. Subsystem: Sonants.

Norm dialects: nasals /m n ŋ/. /m/ and /n/ occur in all positions, /ŋ/ only before a velar stop. The corresponding nasals of the Barrhead dialect agree basically with the norm dialect. /ŋ/ also occurs finally.

m (Bilabial nasal)

mʊtər	['mʊd̥əɾ]	'Mutter'
ɪmər	['ʔɪməɾ]	'immer'
ɪm	[ʔɪm]	'im'

n (Alveolar nasal)

naiə	['na˚ə]	'neue'
šenə	['še:nə]	'schöne'
kfʊn	[kfʊn]	'gefunden'
vain	[va͡˚n]	'Wein'

ŋ (Velar nasal)

ɪŋkšlof	['ʔɪŋkšlo:f]	'eingeschlafen'

gənvŋk	[gə'nvŋk^{h}]	'genug'
gəbrvŋ	[gə'bɾ̆vŋ]	'gebracht'
fəgaŋ	[fə'gaŋ]	'vergangen'

Norm dialect: liquids /l r/. They occur in all positions; the /r/ is an apico-alveolar trill. The corresponding sounds of the Barrhead dialect are in agreement with the norm dialect, except for an occasional loss of final r, which might be due to rapid speech rather than being a dialect feature.

l (Clear voiced alveolar lateral)

lʊft	[lʊft^{h}]	Luft'
blɛtər	['blɛd̥əɾ]	'Blätter'
kolə	['k^{h}o:lə]	'Kohlen'
fil	[fi:l]	'viel'

r (Apico-alveolar trill). It occurs as a trill [ɾ̆] before vowels and can be reduced to a single flap [ɾ] postvocalically and finally. The prefix Standard German ver- occurs as fə-.

rɛtə	['ɾ̆ɛd̥ə]	'reden'
rɔs	[ɾ̆ɔs]	'Ross' (Pferd)
orə	['ʔo:ɾ̆ə]	'Ohren'
vasər	['vasəɾ]	'Wasser'
fɛrtɪx	['fɛɾt^{h}ɪç]	'fertig'
fəbrɛnt	[fə'bɾ̆ɛnt^{h}]	'verbrannt'
fəgaŋ	[fə'gaŋ]	'vergangen'

The norm dialect has two affricates [ts], [tš]. The Barrhead dialect is in basic agreement. However,

in addition [pf] occurred once, due to outside influence.

[ts]	sɪtsə	['sɪtsə]	'sitzen'
[tš]	daitš	[da^{e}tš]	'deutsch'
[pf]	pfɛfər	['pfɛfəɹ]	'Pfeffer'
	but:		
	pʊnt	[p^{h}ʊnt^{h}]	'Pfund'.

Chart of contrastive consonants

	bilabial	lab.-dent.	apic.-alv.	alv.-pal.	palat.	velar	glottal
stops	p b		t d			k g	
fricat.		f v	s z	š		x	h
nasals	m		n			ŋ	
laterals			l				
trills			r				

Chart of consonant variants

	bilabial	lab.-dent.	apic.-alv.	alv.-pal.	palat.	velar	glottal
stops	p^{h} p b b		t^{h} d d			k^{h} g g	
fricatives		f v	s z	š ž	ç ʝ	x ɣ	h
nasals	m		n			ŋ	
laterals			l				
trills			r ɾ				

Vowels

Vowels of the norm dialect:

I. Front vowels: /i ɪ e ɛ/

II. Central vowels: /a a: ã: ə/

III. Back vowels: /u ʊ o ɔ/

IV. Diphthongs: /ai/ /au/.

There is no low central lip-neutral vowel /a:/ as in Standard German Staat [šta:t^{h}]. There are no front rounded vowels, nor a diphthong with a front rounded vowel as one element. All vowels preceding /r/ are subject to lowering.

I. Subsystem: Front vowels

Norm dialect: /i ɪ e ɛ/.

Barrhead dialect:

i (Upper-high lip-spread tense vowel) occurs long in stressed position, and shortened in unstressed position. It is in agreement with the posited norm.

ibər	['ʔi:bəɾ]	'über'
fis	[fi:s]	'Füsse'
ki	[k^{h}i:]	'Kühe'
ɛpi	['ʔɛpi]	'Äpfel'
vaizi	['va^{ə}zi]	'weisse'

ɪ (Lower-high front lip-spred lax vowel)

ɪmər	['ʔɪməɾ]	'immer'
sɪtsə	['sɪtsə]	'sitzen'
fɪnf	[fɪnf]	'fünf'

i and I do not occur before r. This is in agreement with the norm dialect.

e (Upper-mid front lip-spread tense vowel). It occurs lowered before r as long lower-mid front lip-spread lax vowel [ɛ:]; in front of consonants other than r, [ɛ:] is in free variation with [e:].

grezər	['gře:zəɾ]	'grösser'
tsve	[tsve:]	'zwei'
fegəl	['fe:gəl]	'Vögel'
seəmil	['se:ə,mi:l]	'Sägemühle'
šefxə	['šɛ:fçə]	'Schäfchen'
ver	[vɛ:ɾ]	'wäre'

This is in agreement with the norm dialect.

ɛ (Lower-mid front lip-spread lax vowel). It occurs lowered before r as upper-low slightly more central lip-neutral lax vowel [æ]. This agrees with the posited norm.

šlɛxtə	['šlɛçtʰə]	'schlechte'
gəvɛst	[gə'vɛstʰ]	'gewesen'
dɛrfšt	[dæɾfštʰ]	'darfst'
vɛrə	['væřə]	'werden'
ɛr	[ʔæɾ]	'er'
vɛr	[væɾ]	'wer'
bɛršt	[bæɾštʰ]	'Bürste'
bɛrə̯ə	['bæɾə̯ə]	'Berge'

II. Subsystem: Central vowels

Norm dialect: /a å: ã: ə/.

Barrhead dialect:

a (Upper-low central vowel), lip-neutral [a] occurs in free variation with the upper-low central slightly rounded vowel [å].

af	[ʔaf]	'Affe'
altə	['ʔaldə]	'alte'
maxə	['maxə]	'machen'
vaxsən	['vaxsən]	'wachsen'
hat	[hḁ̊t^{h}]	'er hat'
han	[hḁ̊n]	'sie haben'

The lip-rounding of a in free variation is a deviation from the norm dialect, where short [a] occurs lip-neutral only.

a: (Low central vowel), lip-neutral [a:] occurs in free variation with the low central slightly rounded vowel [å:]. This is a deviation from the norm dialect, where [å:] occurs throughout and [a:] is unknown.

a:bər	['ʔa:bəɹ]	'aber'
ga:rtə	['gå:ɹdə]	'Garten'
fəka:fə	[fə'k^{h}a:fə]	'verkaufen'
fra:	[fr̆a:]	'Frau'
a:gəblɪk	['ʔa:ɣə,blɪk^{h}]	'Augenblick'

ã: (Nasalized low central lip-neutral vowel) occurs initially only. This is in agreement with the norm dialect.

ã:faŋt	['ʔã:faŋtʰ]	'anfängt'
ã:kʊmət	['ʔã:ˌkʰʊmətʰ]	'ankommt'
ã:gɛvər	['ʔã:ˌgɛvəɾ]	'Angeber'

ə (Upper-mid central lip-neutral vowel) occurs in unstressed position only in agreement with the norm dialect.

mər	[məɾ]	'mir'
dəs	[dəs]	'das'
vɪntər	['vɪnd̥əɾ]	'Winter'

III. Subsystem: Back vowels

Norm dialect: /u ʊ o ɔ /.

Barrhead dialect:

u (Upper-high back rounded tense vowel). It occurs in agreement with the norm dialect.

gutə	['gu:d̥ə]	'gute'
gətun	[gə'd̥u:n]	'getan'
tu	[tʰu:]	'tue'

ʊ (Lower-high back rounded lax vowel). It occurs lowered before r as a lower-mid back slightly rounded lax short vowel [ɔ], in agreement with the posited norm.

ʊnə	['ʔʊnə]	'unten'
drʊknə	['dr̆ʊgnə]	'trockenen'
kfʊn	[kfʊn]	'gefunden'
vʊršt	[vɔɾštʰ]	'Wurst'

o (Upper-mid back rounded tense vowel). It occurs lowered before r as lower-mid back slightly rounded lax long vowel [ɔ:]. This agrees with the posited norm.

ovə	['ʔo:və]	'Ofen'
kštol	[kšto:l]	'gestohlen'
rotə	['řo:d̥ə]	'roten'
ɪŋkšlof	['ʔɪŋkšlo:f]	'eingeschlafen'
horə	['hɔ:řə]	'Ohren

ɔ (Lower-mid back slightly rounded lax short vowel). It occurs in agreement with the posited norm.

kɔxə	['kʰɔxə]	'kochen'
rɔs	[řɔs]	'Ross' (Pferd)
gəprɔx	[gə'b̥řɔx]	'gebrochen'
vɔlə	['vɔlə]	'wollen'

Brežnik lists a few monosyllables, where final -n is lost and the preceding vowel is nasalized.[12] A general rule for nasalization does not exist in the norm dialect. There are a few examples of nasalization in the Barrhead dialect, for which a pattern could not be determined.

vain	[vã̃ːn]	'Wein'
šenə	[šẽ̃:nə]	'schöne'
eɪ	[ʔɛ̃̃ː]	'eine'

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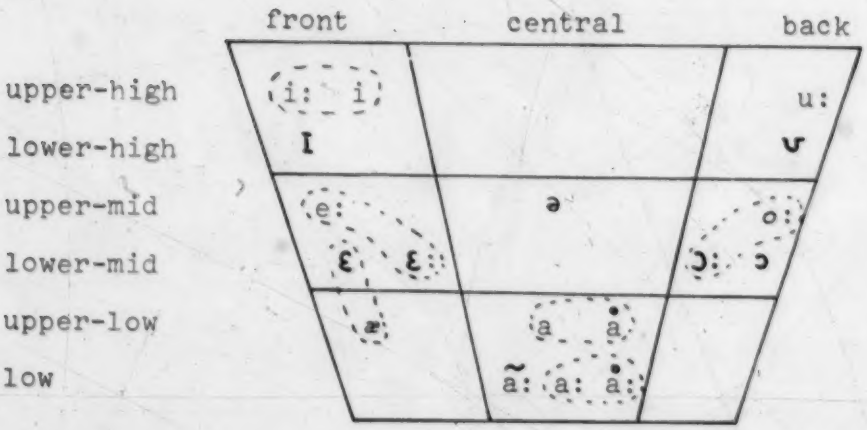
[12] P. Brežnik, Die Mundart der hochdeutschen Ansiedelung Franztal in Jugoslawien, p. 49-50.

Chart of vowels including variants



IV. Subsystem: Diphthongs

Norm dialect: /ai/ /au/

The same diphthongs occur in the Barrhead dialect:

ai The quality of this diphthong is that of an upper-low central lip-neutral vowel with an off-glide toward a mid front vowel with slight lip-spreading.

ais	[ʔa˙s]	'Eis'
baizə	['ba˙zə]	'beissen'
lait	[la˙tʰ]	'Leute'
faiər	['fa˙əɾ]	'Feuer'

au The quality of this diphthong is that of an upper-low central lip-neutral vowel with an off-glide toward a mid back vowel with slight lip-rounding.

sauvər	['saᵕvəɾ]	'sauber'
baurə	['baᵕr̆ə]	'Bauern'
haus	[haᵕs]	'Haus'

The diphthong au occurs in the norm dialect also in 'Augen' and 'Frau', as in Standard German; these examples occur in the Barrhead dialect with [a:]. This is discussed on pp. 81-82.

3. Description of the Volhynian German Dialect spoken by Mr. R. Gross,

compared with the Volhynian German dialect, as described by J. Arbuckle,[13] as a norm dialect.

Consonants

Consonants of the norm dialect:

I. Stops: voiceless weakly aspirated fortis /p t k/
voiced unaspirated lenis /b d/

II. Fricatives: voiceless fricatives /f s š x h/
voiced fricatives /v z ɣ/

III. Sonants: nasals /m n ŋ/
liquids /l r/
glides /j/

I. Subsystem: Stops

Norm dialect: voiceless weakly aspirated fortis /p t k/, occur in all positions.

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[13] John Arbuckle, "Phonology of the Volhynian German Dialect of the Edmonton Area." The author could find no reference to a study of Volhynian as spoken in Poland.

The corresponding sounds of the Barrhead dialect are in agreement with the norm dialect.

p (Voiceless bilabial fortis stop)

pɪkən	['pʰɪkʰən]	'picken'
raupən	['raᵊpᴺn̩]	'Raupen'
rəprirən	[ɪə'pr̆i:r̆ən]	'reparieren'
laup	[laᵊpʰ]	'Laub'

t (Voiceless apico-alveolar fortis stop)

tu	[tʰu:]	'tue'
tɔxtər	['tʰɔxtʰəɾ]	'Tochter'
gutə	['gu:tʰə]	'gute'
tot	[tʰo:tʰ]	'tot'
rotən	['r̆o:tᴺn̩]	'roten'

k (Voiceless velar fortis stop)

kolən	['kʰo:lən]	'Kohlen'
kɔxən	['kʰɔxən]	'kochen'
pɪkən	['pʰɪkʰən]	'picken'
auɣənblɪk	['ʔaᵊɣən,blɪkʰ]	'Augenblick'

Norm dialect: voiced lenis stops /b d/. They occur initially, and medially after long vowels only. The voiced velar lenis stop /g/ does not occur; the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ occurs instead.

b and d of the Barrhead dialect are in agreement with the corresponding sounds of the norm dialect.

b (Voiced bilabial lenis stop)

bɛsər	['bɛsəɾ]	'besser'
brudər	['brŭ:dəɾ]	'Bruder'
traibən	['trŭa^{e}bən]	'treiben'
ha:bən	['ha:bən]	'haben'

d (Voiced apico-alveolar lenis stop)

dɔnər	['dɔnəɾ]	'Donner'
dʊršt	[dʊɾšt^{h}]	'Durst'
ferdə	['fe̯ədə]	'Pferd' (dat.)
odər	['ʔo:dəɾ]	'oder'
midə	['mi:də]	'müde'

As a deviation from the norm, the Barrhead dialect has a voiced velar lenis stop g, which the norm dialect lacks. It occurs initially and medially.

g

gest	[ge:st^{h}]	'gehst'
gɛnzə	['gɛnzə]	'Gänse'
ga:rtən	['ga:ɾt^{N}n̩]	'Garten'
flegə	['fle:gə]	'Pflege'
ligən	['li:g^{N}ə̯]	'liegen'
augən	['ʔa^{ɔ}gən]	'Augen'

The voiced velar stop g does not occur regularly, but fluctuates in its use with the voiced velar fricative ɣ.

II. Subsystem: Fricatives

Norm dialect: voiceless fricatives /f s š x h/. /f/ and /š/ occur in all positions, /s/ occurs medially-

and finally, /h/ occurs initially before vowel.

The corresponding sounds of the Barrhead dialect occur in agreement with the posited norm.

f (Voiceless labiodental fricative)

faiər	['fa˚əɾ]	'Feuer'
afə	['ʔafə]	'Affe'
šla:fən	['šla:fən]	'schlafen'
dɔrf	[dɔřf]	'Dorf'

s (Voiceless alveolar fricative) occurs medially after short vowel[14], and finally.

bɛsər	['bɛsəɾ]	'besser'
hais	[ha˚s]	'heiss'
gans	[gans]	'ganz'
nɪxts	[nɪçts]	'nichts'

An exception is baisən ['ba˚sən] 'beissen', where s occurs after a long vowel.

š (Voiceless palato-alveolar grooved fricative).

In the Barrhead dialect, Standard German /st/ after r occurs always as št. This is not the case in the norm dialect. The regular occurrence of the cluster -ršt- in the Barrhead dialect is a deviation from the posited norm.

šneən	['šne:ən]	'schneien'
šenə	['še:nə]	'schöne'
drɛšən	['dřɛšən]	'dreschen'

[14] "Arbuckle feature", cf. footnote 9, p. 43 of this chapter. Because of the exception, s and z are considered independent contrastive segments.

flašə	['flašə]	'Flasche'
flaiš	[fla•š]	'Fleisch'
dʊršt	[dʊɾštʰ]	'Durst'
ɛršte	['ʔɛɾštə]	'erste'

x (Voiceless velar fricative) occurs as in the norm dialect with positional variants:

1. as voiceless palatal fricative [ç] after front vowels and liquids, and in the diminutive suffix -chen.[15]
2. As voiceless velar fricative [x] after back vowels.

hexər	['he:çəɾ]	'höher'
nɪxts	[nɪçts]	'nichts'
zɔlxə	['zɔlçə]	'solche'
traurɪx	['tʁaᵊʁɪç]	'traurig'
štʏkxən	['štʏkçən]	'Stückchen'
bɪsxən	['bɪsçən]	'bisschen'
kɔxən	['kʰɔxən]	'kochen'
ɣəza:xt	[ɡə'za:xtʰ]	'gesagt'
ɣənux	[ɡə'nu:x]	'genug'

h (Voiceless glottal fricative)

ha:bə	['ha:bə]	'habe'
hais	[ha•s]	'heiss'
hɪntən	['hɪntən]	'hinten'

Norm dialect: voiced fricatives /v z ɣ/.

They occur initially, and medially after long vowel. /v/ occurs also in consonant clusters.

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[15] [x] and [ç] occur in complementary distribution based on the preceding vowel. When [ç] occurs in the diminutive suffix -chen, it is regarded as the initial sound of separate morpheme.

The corresponding sounds of the Barrhead dialect occur in agreement with the norm dialect.

v (Voiced labiodental fricative)

vɔxən	['vɔxən]	'Wochen'
vizə	['vi:zə]	'Wiese'
švarts	[švarts]	'schwarz'
tsvai	[tsva˚]	'zwei'
evɪx	['ʔe:vɪç]	'ewig'

z (Voiced alveolar fricative)[16]

zɪnt	[zɪnt^{h}]	'sind'
zals	[zals]	'Salz'
zɔnst	[zɔnst^{h}]	'sonst'
haizər	['ha˚zəɾ]	'Häuser'
grezər	['gře:zəɾ]	'grösser'

ɣ (Voiced palatal or velar fricative). It occurs as in the norm dialect with positional variants:

1. As voiced palatal fricative [ʝ] initially, and medially after front vowels and liquids; sometimes the friction can be reduced, and the sound comes close to being a palatal glide.
2. As voiced velar fricative [ɣ] medially after back vowels.

ɣəbrɔxən	[ʝə'břɔxən]	'gebrochen'
ɣɛstər	['ʝɛstəɾ]	'gestern'
reɣən	['ře:ʝən]	'Regen'

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[16] "Arbuckle feature", cf. footnote 9, p. 43 and footnote 14, p. 59 of this chapter.

mɔrɣən	['mɔɾʝən]	'morgen'
bɛrɣə	['bɛɾʝə]	'Berge'
ɔrɣəl	['ʔɔɾʝəl]	'Orgel'
za:ɣən	['za:ɣən]	'sagen'
kra:ɣən	['křa:ɣən]	'Kragen'
auɣənblɪk	['ʔa^{ɔ}ɣən,blɪk^{h}]	'Augenblick'

III. Subsystem: Sonants

Norm dialect: nasals /m n ŋ/. /m/ and /n/ occur in all positions, /ŋ/ medially and finally.

The corresponding m n ŋ of the Barrhead dialect occur in agreement with the posited norm.

m (Bilabial nasal)

ma:n	[ma:n]	'Mann'
ɪmər	['ʔɪməɾ]	'immer'
fʏmf	[fʏmf]	'fünf'
ka:m	[k^{h}a:m]	'kam'

n (Apico-alveolar nasal)

naiə	['na^{ə}ə]	'neue'
šenə	['še:nə]	'schöne'
rotən	['řo:t^{N}ŋ]	'roten'

ŋ (Velar nasal). Finally it often occurs through nasal release for ən preceded by a velar consonant.

brɪŋən	['břɪŋən]	'bringen'
fligən	['fli:g^{N}ŋ]	'fliegen'
drɪŋkən	['dřɪŋk^{N}ŋ]	'trinken'

Norm dialect: liquids /l r/. They occur in all positions, /r/ occurs as apico-alveolar trill.

The corresponding l and r of the Barrhead dialect are in agreement with the norm dialect.

l (Clear voiced alveolar lateral)

lʊft	[lʊft^{h}]	'Luft'
zɔlən	['zɔlən]	'sollen'
fɔl	[fɔl]	'voll'
šnɛl	[šnɛl]	'schnell'
mɪlx	[mɪlç]	'Milch'

r The r occurs initially, and often after a consonant before a stressed vowel and intervocalically as alveolar trill [ř]. After a stressed vowel before a consonant and finally it occurs as single flap [ɾ], or as a tensed mid central vowel [ə̯].

rotən	['řo:t^{N}n̩]	'roten'
gəbrant	[gə'břant^{h}]	'gebrannt'
orən	['ʔo:ɾən]	'Ohren'
irən	['ʔi:ɾən]	'ihren'
fɛrtɪx	['fɛɾt^{h}ɪç]	'fertig'
kɔrp	[k^{h}ɔɾp^{h}]	'Korb'
vɔrt	[vɔə̯t^{h}]	'Wort'
zaubər	['za^{ɔ}bəɾ]	'sauber'

Norm dialect: glides /j/. Occurs initially only. The Barrhead dialect agrees on that point.

j (Voiced palatal glide)

ja	[ja]	'ja'
jʊŋəns	['jʊŋəns]	'Jungen'
jedən	['je:dən]	'jeden'

There are three affricates which occur in the norm dialect as well as in the Barrhead dialect: pf ts tš.

pf	pfɛfər	['pfɛfəɾ]	'Pfeffer'
ts	šmʊtsɪɣə	['šmʊtsɪʝə]	'schmutzige'
tš	daitš	[da'tš]	'deutsch'

Chart of contrastive consonants

	bilabial	lab.-dent.	apic.-alv.	alv.-pal.	palat.	velar	glottal
stops	p d		t d			k g	
fricatives		f v	s z	š		x ɣ	h
nasals	m		n			ŋ	
laterals			l				
trills			r				
glides					j		

Chart of consonant variants

	bilabial	lab.-dent	apico.-alv.	alv.-pal.	palat.	velar	glottal
stops	pʰ b		tʰ d			kʰ g	
fricatives		f v	s z	š	ç ʝ	x ɣ	h
nasals	m		n			ŋ	
laterals			l				
trills			r ɾ ɐ				
glides					j		

Vowels

Vowels of the norm dialect:

I. Front vowels: /i ɪ e ɛ/

II. Central vowels: /a a: ə/

III. Back vowels: /u ʊ o ɔ/

IV. Diphthongs: /ai/ /au/.

There are no front rounded vowels in the norm dialect. No distinction is made between the Standard German /e/ and /ɛ:/ e.g. the minimal pair Bären (bears) and Beeren (berries) are both rendered as /berən/.

The vowel inventory of the Barrhead dialect agrees entirely with the norm dialect except for a few occurrences of front rounded vowels, which are accounted for as influence from Standard German.

I. Subsystem: Front vowels

Norm dialect: /i ɪ e ɛ/.

i (Upper-high front lip-spread tense vowel)

ibər	['ʔi:bəɾ]	'über'
fligən	['fli:g$^{N}_{ŋ}$]	'fliegen'
fizə	['fi:zə]	'Füsse'

ɪ (Lower-high front lip-spread lax vowel)

kɪnt	[k^{h}ɪnt^{h}]	'Kind'
zɪtsən	['zɪtsən]	'sitzen'
mɪt	[mɪt^{h}]	'mit'

e (Upper-mid front lip-spread tense vowel)

šneən	['šne:ən]	'schneien'
feðəl	['fe:ðəl]	'Vögel'
ðəvèzən	[ðə've:zən]	'gewesen'
ðe	[ðe:]	'geh'
ver	[ve:ɾ]	'wäre'
tet	[t^{h}e:t^{h}]	'täte'

ɛ (Lower-mid front lip-spread lax vowel)

bɛsər	['bɛsəɾ]	'besser'
šnɛl	[šnɛl]	'schnell'
zɛks	[zɛks]	'sechs'

II. Subsystem: Central vowels

Norm dialect: /a a: ə/.

a (Upper-low central lip-neutral vowel)

anfaŋt	['ʔanfaŋt^{h}]	'anfängt'
kaltə	['k^{h}alt^{h}ə]	'kalte'
vasər	['vasəɾ]	'Wasser'

a: (Low central lip-neutral vowel)

a:bər	['ʔa:bəɾ]	'aber'
la:gən	['la:g^{N}ŋ]	'lagen'
za:ðə	['za:ðə]	'sage'
da:	[da:]	'da' (stressed)

ə (Upper-mid central lip-neutral vowel)

blɛtər	['blɛt^{h}əɾ]	'Blätter'
bɛsər	['bɛsəɾ]	'besser'
dər	[dəɾ]	'der'

III. Subsystem: Back vowels

Norm dialect: /u ʊ o ɔ /.

u (Upper-high back rounded tense vowel)

gutə	['gu:tʰə]	'gute'
ɣənux	[ɡə'nu:x]	'genug'
tun	[tʰu:n]	'tun'

ʊ (Lower-high back rounded lax vowel)

ʊntən	['ʔʊntᴺn̩]	'unten'
lʊft	[lʊftʰ]	'Luft'
kʊxən	['kʰʊxən]	'Kuchen'

o (Upper-mid back rounded tense vowel)

ofən	['ʔo:fən]	'Ofen'
kolən	['kʰo:lən]	'Kohlen'
zo	[zo:]	'so'

ɔ (Lower-mid back slightly rounded lax vowel)

trɔkən	['tr̆ɔkʰən]	'trockenen'
ɣəbrɔxən	[ɡə'br̆ɔxən]	'gebrochen'
kərn	[kʰɔɾn]	'Korn'

The front rounded vowels, which occur sporadically in the Barrhead dialect are due to influence of Standard German, which is brought into use under certain social conditions.

Y (Lower-high front rounded lax vowel)

bʏršte	['bʏɪšte]	'Bürste'
tsʊrʏka:mən	[tsʊ'rʏˌkʰa:mən]	'zurückkamen'
fʏmf	[fʏmf]	'fünf'

ø (Upper-mid front rounded lax vowel)

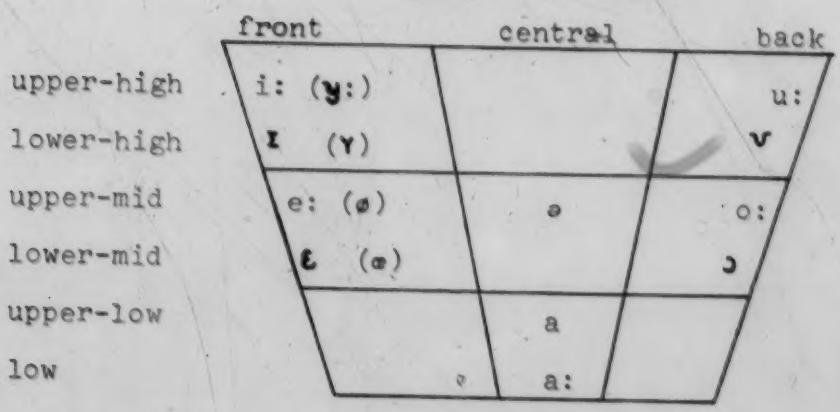
bøzə	['bøzə]	'böse'
føɣəl	['føjəl]	'Vögel'

œ (Lower-mid front rounded lax vowel)

kɔxlœfəl	['kʰɔx,lœfəl]	'Kochlöffel'
tsvœlf	[tsvœlf]	'zwölf'

Due to lack of sufficient data, there was no example for the upper-high front rounded tense vowel ʏ, which is also expected to occur.

Chart of vowels



IV. Subsystem: Diphthongs

Norm dialect: /ai/ /au/.

The same diphthongs occur in the Barrhead dialect.

ai The quality of this diphthong is that of an upper-low central lip-neutral vowel with an off-glide toward a mid front vowel with slight lip-spreading.

glaix	[gla˙ç]	'gleich'

haitə ['ha˚tʰə] 'heute'

haizər ['ha˚zəɾ] 'Häuser'

au The quality of this diphthong is that of an upper-low central lip-neutral vowel with an off-glide toward a mid back vowel with slight lip-rounding.

glaubə ['glaᵊbə] 'glaube'

augən ['ʔaᵊgən] 'Augen'

frau [fr̆aᵊ] 'Frau'

There is a deviation from the norm, when a third diphthong occurs sporadically in the Barrhead dialect. The diphthong oi is introduced as a replacement of ai in appropriate words, when social conditions call for Standard German.

oi ɛpfəlboim ['ʔɛpfəl,bɔᵊm] 'Äpfelbäumchen'

ɣəboit [ɣə'bɔᵊtʰ] 'Gebäude'

Summary of the prominent features of the dialects

Prominent features of the Low German Dialect:

1. Unshifted stops: piepə 'Pfeffer', tidə 'Zeiten', mʊk 'mache'.
2. Certain words, which in Standard German have a diphthong, occur with vowel plus g. This is a historical phenomenon called Konsonantenverschärfung[15]:

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[15] Germanic jj > ddj in Gothic, ggj in Old Norse, and a diphthong in West Germanic;
Germanic ww > ggw in Gothic, ggv in Old Norse, and a diphthong in West Germanic;
e.g. germ. *twajjẽⁿ > Goth.: twaddje, Old Norse: tweggja, Old High German: zweio, Ang. Sax.: tweio.

hɔgə 'hauen', bʊgə 'bauen', jʊgəm 'eurem'.

3. Homorganic fricative occurs for Standard German bilabial stop: vif 'Weib', glef 'glaube', blievə 'geblieben'. Homorganic fricative for Standard German velar stop: bətroɣə 'betrogen', ja:s 'Gänse', flexə 'fliegen'.
4. Diphthongization of vowels:
   o [o:] ~ [oᵛ] ~ [ɔᵛ].
   e [e:] ~ [eᴵ] ~ [ɛᴵ].
5. Diphthongs non-existent in Standard German: ie uo.
6. No front rounded vowels.

Prominent features of the Swabian Dialect:

1. Medial /b/ and /g/ of Standard German occur as homorganic fricatives in the dialect: a:vər 'aber', laiɟə 'liegen'.
2. Basis of consonant articulation is lenis.
3. No front rounded vowels and diphthong: ki 'Kühe', grezər 'grösser', lait 'Leute'.
4. Lowering of vowels before r: bɛršt [bɐɾštʰ] 'Bürste', horə ['hɔ:ɾə] 'Ohren'.
5. Existence of nasal vowels.

Prominent features of the Volhynian German Dialect:

1. The velar voiced fricative occurs in place of the velar voiced stop of Standard German: ɣəvezən 'gewesen'.
2. Unrounding of vowels and diphthong [ɔɸ], rounded in Standard German: feɣəl 'Vögel', fizə 'Füsse', haizər 'Häuser'.

CHAPTER III

INTERFERENCE IN PHONOLOGY

1. General Comments and Methodology

The three dialect phonologies described in the previous chapter are each now to be examined as to interference that has occurred due to contact with other languages or dialects of German: that is English, Standard German, and the other dialects of German spoken in the community.

On the subject of bilingualism, Uriel Weinreich refers to interference as "instances of deviation from the norm of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact."[1]

This deviation does not imply a simple loss or addition to the existing language system, but consists of a "rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into . . . highly structured domains of language".[2]

With this in mind, one can readily expect to find foreign elements in the phonological systems of the three

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[1]Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (The Hague: Mouton, 1964), p. 1. Weinreich considers bilingualism here in the broadest sense, where it is irrelevant 'whether the two systems are "languages", "dialects of the same language", or "varieties of the same dialect"'. The same concept is applied in this study.

[2]Ibid.

dialects described above when comparing them with the original dialects. Since, however, descriptions of the original dialects were not accessible to the writer, other methods had to be found to detect interference. This was provided from two sources: 1. The deviations of the Barrhead dialects from the norm dialects as listed in the description of the phonologies. They yield a certain number of occurrences of interference, but also dialect differences due to the fact that the norm dialects are only approximate versions of the original dialects. 2. A method which consisted in examining the Barrhead dialects themselves. Admittedly, this method would not prove successful in finding interference which had already been entirely incorporated into the system and was by now an integral part of the rearranged system as it was exhibited by the speaker. These types of interference, however, are assumed to date further back in time than this study intends to reach. On the other hand, interference of a more recent period is expected to reveal itself as a foreign element or irregularity within the system as well as an inconsistency between the original dialect features and the features from the interfering system. Mainly this method, in addition to the deviations from the norm dialects, provided the findings on interference.

2. Assessment of Dialects

The three dialects described above were chosen as typical of the linguistic situation in Barrhead.

The Low German dialect is to be considered a recessive dialect with only very little influence on the other dialects. It was spoken two or three decades ago by a small number of families. Since then people have died or moved away, thus reducing the number of families today to four families in the town. The dialect is not likely to be understood by the speakers of High German dialects; hence the Low German speakers always use Standard German when communicating with others, and do so in their own homes even among themselves.

The Swabian dialect is spoken by the majority of the older inhabitants of the hamlet Mellowdale, about six miles from Barrhead. People there are said to have come originally from Austria, Bavaria and Yugoslavia. In Barrhead town there lives at the present only one Swabian speaking couple who moved from Mellowdale after retirement. This Swabian dialect is taken as a representative of Upper German dialects.

The dialect spoken by the greatest number of German speakers in Barrhead is Volhynian German, comprising varieties from all those immigrants who came from Poland. Volhynian German speakers themselves estimated that some thirty to forty years ago, the Polnisch-Deutschen made up more than 50% of the German-speaking population of Barrhead. Their guess for the present time was about 35-45%. Since this dialect is closest of the three to Standard

German and is numerically predominant, it appears to have the greatest power for passing its features on to other dialects in a levelling-out process, but Standard German is probably the greater force.

3. Remarks on Types of Influence

No influence from English on the phonology was observed.

The influence of Standard German on the dialects spoken in Barrhead has to be attributed to two time periods: (1) influence during a time before the informants' immigration to Canada, (2) influence since their arrival in Canada.

Ad 1). Each of the informants has lived before in one of the many German-speaking linguistic islands in Europe. Through schools, church and mass media, Standard German was known and/or taught to the speakers at that time. It is, however, difficult to assess at the present time to what extent interference from Standard German in their dialect had occurred before immigrating.

Ad 2). Here, too, influence from school, church and mass media is felt. Moreover, in an ethnically German community with a mixed linguistic heritage, Standard German offers an ideal medium for communication, if one disregards English in this context.

With regards to Standard German influence, another consideration has to be made: due to the method of interview, asking for a translation of the typed out Wenker sentences,

spelling influence from Standard German may have occurred which would not have taken place in the informant's speech under conditions of unguarded conversation. This spelling influence is noticeable on the level of morphology, syntax and lexicon. For the level of phonology, which is the main concern of this study, it has been ascertained that the spelling influence caused by the Wenker sentences did not exceed the general influence from Standard German by comparing points of doubt with tape recordings of free conversation.

Influence of one dialect upon another occurs at the present time, when several dialects are spoken in the same community. There arises the question whether the dialects are levelling off by forming a new compromise-dialect which contains features of the individual dialects, or whether Standard German, acting as an overall linguistic medium to bridge the dialects, will replace them. The latter development is in fact already under way, and there is a good chance that Standard German will become the only form of German spoken in heterogeneous communities such as Barrhead, since it is unlikely that the dialects will survive significantly beyond the second generation of immigrants.

Interference in morphology, syntax and lexicon will be considered only briefly, since it is not central to this thesis, but it does contribute to rounding out the findings based on phonology.

4. Interference in the Dialects

The order in which the dialects are listed is determined by the amount of interference found in each dialect, with the dialect showing the most interference listed first. Some items might be included under two headings when overlapping influence from two sources is possible, e.g. [-b-] in Swabian a:bər, which can be influence from Standard German as well as from Volhynian.

A. Interference in the Swabian Dialect

1. Interference from Standard German:

a. Substitution of an expected voiced fricative by a voiced lenis stop:

medial v substituted by b a:bər instead of a:vər.

medial ɛ̈ substituted by g fegəl instead of feɛ̈əl.

b. The stops of the norm dialect occur as voiceless fortis stops /p t k/, while the Barrhead dialect has in addition to p t k a set of weakly voiced lenis b d g, which occur initially, d occurs also medially. This is probably influence from Standard German, but could as well be influence from Volhynian.

c. /p/ is unshifted in the norm dialect, as well as in the Barrhead dialect, except for pfɛfər 'Pfeffer', which is probably a spelling influence from Standard German.

d. Middle High German intervocalic -h- is expected to become a voiceless, palatal or velar fricative in the dialect:[3] [ho:x] - ['he:çəɾ]. The elimination of this sound in the Barrhead dialect, ['he:əɾ], has to be attributed to Standard German influence.

e. The orthographic cluster -chs- is phonetically expected to be [-ks-] in the norm dialect.[4] In the speech of the Barrhead informant this cluster was found twice as [-xs-] ['vaxsən] 'wachsen', ['ʔɔxsən] 'Ochsen', and once as [-ks] [sɛks] 'sechs'. The cluster [-ks] occurred also for orthographic -chts in [nɪks] 'nichts'. It cannot be said for certain, whether the original dialect of the informant had [-xs-] in contrast to the norm dialect. If this was the case, then the occurrence of [-ks-] is the influence of Standard German or Volhynian.

f. According to Brežnik,[5] syncope of the vowel in the prefix of the past participle is a rule in the norm dialect, excepting cases where the initial sound of the verb root is /k/, e.g. /gəkɛnt/

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[3] P. Brežnik, Die Mundart der hochdeutschen Ansiedelung Franztal in Jugoslawien (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1935), p. 52.

[4] Ibid., p. 53.

[5] Ibid., p. 44.

'gekannt'. This is also a rule in the Swabian-dialect of Barrhead. Restitution of the vowel in the prefix occurs under influence of Standard German.

Syncope: kfal 'gefallen'
kfʊn 'gefunden'
ɪŋkšlof 'eingeschlafen'

Restitution: gəbrɔx 'gebrochen'
gəvɛst 'gewesen'
gəlɛrnt 'gelernt'
gəbrʊŋ 'gebracht'.

g. The instability of [å:] and [a:] in the Barrhead dialect compared with the norm dialect, where only [å:] occurs indicates a process of losing the dialect feature [å:] in favour of Standard German [a:].

h. In the norm dialect short [a] occurs without lip-rounding. In the Barrhead dialect [å] and [a] occur in free variation. It seems that the uncertainty in the use of lip-rounded long [å:] was extended into the use of short [a], where no lip-rounding is expected according to the norm dialect.

i. According to Brežnik[6] the adjectival ending in Swabian can be expected to be -i. Interference from Standard German or other dialects is very strong, because most adjectives in the speech of

[6]Ibid., p. 45.

the Barrhead informant end in -ə and only twice did the original -i occur: vaizi 'weisse', airi 'eure'.

j. Nasalization of vowels is expected to occur in certain monosyllables with the loss of final -n.[7] The scarcity of occurrences of nasalization in the Barrhead dialect reflects outside influence, as does also the fact that nasalization follows no regular pattern: nasalization occurs without loss of the nasal consonant, [vã:n] 'Wein', and in a word with more than one syllable, ['šẽ:nə] 'schöne'; only [ʔɛ̃] 'eine' seems to follow the posited norm. The outside influence is either Standard German or Volhynian, where nasalization is foreign.

2. Interference from other dialects

a. According to Brežnik[8] /z/ does not occur in the norm dialect. It may well be that the alveolar sibilant does not occur with voicing medially in the original dialect of our Barrhead informant. In the corpus, however, there is a tendency towards complementary distribution between s and z medially, which seems to be influence from the Volhynian German dialect[9]:

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[7] Ibid., p. 49f.

[8] Ibid., p. 51.

[9] "Arbuckle feature", cf. footnote 9, p. 43 of Chapter II.

the alveolar sibilant occurs as a rule with voicing medially after long vowel and dipthong, and voiceless after short vowel. This distribution is not without exception:

vaizi 'weisse', haizər 'Häuser', grezər 'grösser', bɛsər 'besser'.

Exceptions: haisər 'heisser', bɪzəl 'bisschen'.

The same tendency toward medial voicing after long vowel is apparent in ['křa˚žə] 'schreien'; [ž] does not occur in the norm dialect.

b. Standard German /g/ in medial position occurs as a rule in the Barrhead dialect as voiced palatal fricative [ʝ], or voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. In the norm dialect /g/ in medial position is lost except when it occurs after /r/. In such cases it occurs as voiced palatal fricative /j/. e.g. ['mɔřʝə] 'morgen'. If this feature of the norm dialect is also the feature of the original dialect of the Barrhead informant, the regular use of the voiced palatal and velar fricatives medially in the Barrhead dialect is an outside influence from Volhynian German. But it may well be that in this respect the original Barrhead dialect differs from the norm dialect, in which case this feature cannot be regarded as interference.

c. Influence from Volhynian which overlaps with

influence from Standard German, and has been dealt with there:

1) v replaced by b.

2) Restitution of the vowel in the prefix.

3) Irregular use of nasalization.

4) Loss of [å:].

5) Adjectival ending -i > -ə.

6) Lenis stops in addition to fortis stops.

3. Deviation from the norm dialect possibly due to original dialect differences or idiolect features which do not have to be regarded as interference

a. According to Brežnik[10] and Johann Weidlein[11], there were differences in the vocalism between Protestant and Catholic communities, which are also reflected in mixed communities, where Protestants and Catholics continue to follow different rules for certain vowels:

Protestant: /o/ and /u/ before /r/ + consonant > /a/
/karp/ 'Korb', /daršt/ 'Durst',

Catholic: /o/ and /u/ before /r/ + consonant > /ɔ/
/kɔrp/ 'Korb', /dɔršt/ 'Durst'.

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[10] Brežnik, p. 38.

[11] Johann Weidlein, "Katholische und protestantische Mundarten in der Batschka." Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung, XXI (1951-53), pp. 43-49.

This is relevant for the fact that the informant who is a member of the Protestant church, does not follow the rules expected, but lowers o and u before r and consonant only to ɔ. Since this cannot be explained by influence from Standard German nor from other dialects, it is likely to be a feature of the original dialect which is not in agreement with the distribution proposed by Březnik.

b. In the norm dialect 'Augen' and 'Frau' occur with the dipthong /au/ as in Standard German. In the speech of the Barrhead informant, the same examples occur with [a:], [fřa:], ['ʔa:ɣə]. This is the original dialect feature as found in Protestant communities in the Bačka,[12] where the grandparents of the informant lived.

B. Interference in the Volhynian German Dialect

1. Interference from Standard German

a. Substitution of an expected voiced fricative by a voiced lenis stop: initial ɣ substituted by g: gest 'gehst', instead of ɣest; gəbrant 'gebrannt', instead of ɣəbrant.

medial ɣ substituted by g:

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[12] Ibid., p. 45 and 46. /au/ is typical for Catholic communities, while /a:/ or /ȧ:/ occurs in Protestant communities. This explains the use of /au/ in the norm dialect, since Franztal is a Catholic community.

ligən 'liegen', instead of liɣən; augən 'Augen' instead of auɣən. This substitution is not complete, but occurs at random. The same word occurring twice during the same interview was rendered once with the fricative, and the other time with the stop.

b. There are no front rounded vowels in the norm dialect.[13] Some front rounded vowels occurred, however, in the speech of the Barrhead informant:

ʏ bʏrštə 'Bürste', tsʊrʏka:mən 'zurückkamen', fʏmf 'fünf';

ø bøzə 'böse', føɣəl 'Vögel';

œ kɔxləfəl 'Kochlöffel', tsvœlf 'zwölf'.

c. In addition to the two genuine dipthongs ai and au, oi was introduced as a replacement of ai in some words:

apfəlboim 'Apfelbäumchen', ɣəboit 'Gebäude'.

Features a-c are revealed by an inconsistency in the Barrhead dialect and point to disagreement of the original dialect and the features of Standard German. The interfering sounds are brought into use under social conditions that call for Standard German.

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[13] J. Arbuckle, "Phonology of the Volhynian German Dialect . . .", p. 22f, and 'Abstract' p. iii/iv.

2. Interference from other dialects

In the Barrhead dialect, Standard German /st/ after r occurs always as št, after vowel or consonant other than r, this cluster occurs as st:

ršt dʊršt 'Durst', bʏršte 'Bürste', vʊršt 'Wurst', ɛršte 'erste', dɛrfšt 'darfst'. (In the case of dɛrfšt the presence of the f does not seem to interfere with the rule.)

st fɛst 'fest', aŋst 'Angst', švɛstər 'Schwester', ɣest 'gehst', ɣasthaus 'Gasthaus', hast 'hast'.

This distribution does not agree with the norm dialect, where Standard German /st/ after /r/ occurs as /rst/.[14] Although Arbuckle does not elaborate on the distribution of /št/ and /st/, two examples from his corpus occur with /st/, where our informant uses št:

Arbuckle: /vʊrst/ /erst/, our informant: vʊršt, ɛršte.

This points to influence from Swabian where this feature is common, which was also the opinion of a subsidiary informant in Barrhead who spoke Volhynian. The influence may date back to the informant's early years in Poland, where he lived next door to people who spoke Swabian, and whose children were his playmates.

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[14] Ibid., p. 50-52.

Special features in the Volhynian dialect as spoken by Mrs. Gross

Differences were expected in the wife's version of the Volhynian dialect when compared with the Volhynian German spoken by her husband. Influences prior to their marriage some thirty years ago must have been of different nature, since Mr. Gross had spent twenty-four years in Europe, and Mrs. Gross, being Canadian-born of parents from Volhynia, has never spoken her German dialect outside Canada.

a. The substitution of initial and medial g for the expected ɣ occurs less frequently in her speech than in her husband's.

b. No front rounded vowels were recorded in the wife's speech, while Mr. Gross used front rounded vowels sporadically.

c. Initial g can occur as a voiceless fricative [x], [xu:t^{h}] 'gut', [xr̆o:s] 'gross'.

d. The distinction s : z is confused medially by light voicing of both, while her husband's speech showed what has been referred to as the "Arbuckle feature".[15]

e. Final ə in nouns and adjectives is often pronounced as e, ['fi:se] 'Füsse', ['vi:ze] 'Wiese', ['va'ze] 'weisse'.

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[15] cf. footnote 9, p. 43 of Chapter II.

The features a-c are more archaic than the corresponding features of her husband's dialect/idiolect, in the sense that they place Mrs. Gross among those relatively unaffected by Standard German. Feature d is a puzzle, since her husband has the Volhynian feature as described by Arbuckle, and it even appears as interference in the Swabian dialect. It seems odd, then, that this Volhynian feature would not appear in Mrs. Gross' speech. Feature e has no obvious explanation in terms of interference or archaism. It seems strictly idiolectical.

C. Interference in the Low German Dialect

1. Interference from Standard German

a. Substitution of an expected voiced fricative by a voiced-lenis stop:
medial [-v-] substituted by [-b-], ['ʔa:bəɾ]
instead of ['ʔa:vəɾ],
medial [-ʝ-] substituted by [-g-], ['mɔɾgə]
instead of ['mɔɾʝə]
R.E. Keller also refers to /g/ as an influence from Standard German in the description of the norm dialect (Mönsterländsk Platt).[16]

b. /z/ occurs only medially in the norm dialect. In the Barrhead dialect, however, it occurs also in initial position.

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[16]R.E. Keller, German Dialects, p. 311.

c. Restitution of postvocalic r which tends to be lost in the Barrhead dialect. This seems to be influence from Standard German, but could also be Volhynian or Swabian.

d. There are no front rounded vowels in the Barrhead dialect. Once, however, ø occurred as interference from Standard German: føxəl 'Vögel'.

2. Interference from other Dialects

a. Influence from Volhynian which overlaps with Standard German influence: [-v-] replaced by [-b-].

b. Influence from Swabian which overlaps with influence from Standard German or Volhynian: restitution of post-vocalic r.

3. Deviations from the norm dialect which do not have to be regarded as interference

a. An occasional slight lip-rounding of a: which might appear as possible influence from Swabian, is in fact a characteristic of Low German in general,[17] a feature which can be seen as being receding under the influence of Standard German. This is not a deviation from a norm, since no norm was posited for the Low German vowels, but it is listed here for not being part of interference.

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[17] Victor Zirmunskij, Deutsche Mundarten (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962), p. 234.

b. d and b, which are always voiced in the norm dialect, occur with optional voicing initially in the Barrhead dialect. This must be seen as a feature of the informant's idiolect.

c. The norm dialect is abnormal in its use of /š/. It occurs medially and finally as /sx/, which seems to represent a transition between the historical /sk/ and modern German /š/. Initially the /š/ sound is in the process of becoming a phoneme in the Mönsterländsk Platt. In the Barrhead dialect š occurs in all positions.

5. Concluding Remarks on Interference

Sources of interference

The findings on interference in the phonology of the three dialects place Standard German as the primary source of influence on all three dialects. There are two main reasons for this:

1. Standard German was known to all three groups of informants prior to exposure to any dialect but their own, and it is therefore safe to say that Standard German exerted its influence over a larger period of time than any other language or dialect.
2. Although all informants valued German as their mother tongue and were eager to maintain it in their community, they did not show any pride in their own dialect. Obvious efforts were often made to hide outstanding

features by using what was felt to be a close copy of the standard language. If the children of dialect speakers learn German, it is most often Standard German and not the dialect. Thus the speakers lack any desire or motivation to maintain their dialect. The prestige dialect is Standard German as it is represented by institutions such as the churches, schools and mass media. Literature written in dialect form is rare or even non-existant for nearly all dialects. Thus a dialect speaker is forced to resort to the standard language when writing or reading. The power of Standard German is unquestionable and explains its position of influence with regards to the dialects.

Volhynian, being the closest of the three dialects to Standard German, acts as a reinforcement for the standard language in its influence upon the other dialects. This reinforcement is the more powerful, as the Volhynian dialect is numerically predominant in the community.

Interference from Standard German was recorded most frequently in the Swabian dialect. The reason for this is that the features of Upper German dialects, of which Swabian is taken as a representative, are close enough to corresponding Standard German features to invite association, and yet far enough removed to make interference from Standard German clearly noticeable. There are therefore many prominent features in the Swabian dialect which yield to corresponding features of Standard German.

The dialect with least interference from Standard German is the Low German dialect. Low German has often been referred to as a different language from High German. Thus a relatively small number of associated features may account for the low frequency of interference in the Low German dialect. Another possible explanation is the fact that the Low German dialect is not used in communication with other German speakers, and had not been spoken for the past ten years. The question, however, if a dialect when not in use for several years, will remain free from outside influence, necessitates further investigation; this was not within the scope of this thesis.

In extent of interference from without, Volhynian stands between the other two dialects. Being rather close to the standard language, it has comparatively few prominent features which are open to interference from the corresponding Standard German features. Another important factor is the great number of Volhynian speakers in Barrhead, which would mean that a Volhynian speaker could be exposed to (and reinforced in) his own dialect more often than to Standard German.

Manifestation and Causes of Interference

The various degrees of inconsistency in the use of certain features, irregularity within a pattern of features, and elements foreign to each particular dialect shown in

the phonology, indicate an incomplete process of language change. This is shown particularly in the instability of certain features in the dialects. Prominent examples of instability are: the receding occurrences of lip-rounded a: in both the Swabian and the Low German dialect; the large range of the e and o sounds in the Low German dialect; and the destabilization of the absence of voice distinction with regards to the stops in the Swabian dialect. The last of the three will be discussed as a typical example of instability.

As already mentioned in the phonology,[18] the classification of the stops in the Swabian dialect spoken in Barrhead met with some difficulty. While the norm dialect is characterized by an absence of voice distinction with regard to the stops, the Barrhead dialect displays an additional set of voiced lenis stops. These voiced lenis stops do not occur, however, in a set strictly opposed to the voiceless fortis stops. The feature of voice ranges from fully voiced to weakly voiced; when the voice is even further reduced, the result is a sound near to a voiceless lenis stop, which is also a variant of the voiceless fortis stop. However, complete voicing occurs only in words which in Standard German have voiced stops. It seems then, at some point, that voiced and voiceless stops are opposed

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[18] See p. 41f. of this thesis.

enough in order to support the establishment of two independent sound entities, but also, at some other point, that the voice distinction is lost as in the original dialect. This destabilization of the absence of voice distinction is caused by influence from Standard German or the Volhynian dialect. It represents an example of language change taking place over a period of time, during which the original feature and the interfering feature occur together in fluctuation before reaching a stable state, which consists in a completed rearrangement of patterns in the system of the language or dialect.

In addition to factors already mentioned, interference can be the result of code switching.[19] Code switching takes place with the change of social context involving the speaker. Certain social situations call for the use of Standard German as opposed to the use of the dialect. In social situations which are not well defined as to the speaker's code system required, the code switching mechanism will allow the uncertainty towards the situation to become evident by occurrences of interference. In our case this is observable in the interference of Standard German in the dialects. Representative examples are the substitution of fricatives by stops, and the occurrences of front rounded vowels.

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[19] Joshua Fishman, "The Relationship Between Micro- and Macro-Sociolinguistics in the Study of Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When." In Language in Sociocultural Change (California: Stanford University Press, 1972), pp. 244-267.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

As originally planned, this thesis was to be mainly a description of a number of dialect phonologies. This was to follow the precedent of works done at this university on German dialects spoken in Alberta. However, the presence of more than one dialect in Barrhead invited the examination of relationships among these dialects. This was to be a minor observation in quite general terms, but it became evident during the interviews, and even more so during the analysis of the tape-recorded material, that the factor of mutual influence and outside influence could not be touched upon lightly. The chapter dealing with interference became a major part of the thesis. Even so it should be evident that the topic of interference with its various linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects offers a great deal more than this thesis has actually taken up.

With this shift in stress, the description of the phonology was restricted to the system of the sounds, excluding prosodic features.

The dialect phonologies are, strictly speaking, idiolect phonologies, since they are based on one main informant each. It must then be understood, that the label 'Barrhead dialect' refers to the idiolect of one speaker

in Barrhead, which is taken as representative for other speakers of the same dialect. Similarly, the amount of interference found in the speech of one speaker is not necessarily a measure for interference that would occur in the speech of other speakers of the same dialect. This shortcoming due to limited time available is shared with other dialect studies. However, in the judgement of the writer, the phonologies as well as the types of interference can be regarded as typical.

Insufficient data in the corpus made a classical phonemic description for the phonology unsuitable. The device of the norm dialect had two benefits: 1. as a confirmation of the quasi-phonemic analysis of the Barrhead dialects, 2. as a means of highlighting likely areas of interference.

When discussing interference, one can concentrate on its origin in other languages and dialects. It was mainly with this perspective in mind that interference was dealt with in this thesis. The obvious approach was to trace the types of interference to their sources, and to weigh the importance of each source with regards to its probable influence on the dialects. It showed that there was no interference from English in the phonology. It also supported the contention in the assessment of the dialects and remarks on types of interference that Standard German is the main force behind a process of levelling out of dialect features. This was shown in the various sections of

Chapter III. However, interference can also be viewed as conditioned by a complex social context, which results in incomplete code switching. This has received but scant attention in this study, and deserves further investigation.

However caused, interference is expressed in individual speech. There may then be variations in its perception and expressions due to individual differences. This was noticed by the writer in the informants' awareness of interference. Interference may be felt by the speaker as being a slip of the tongue, which he may want to correct, because he is aware of it, e.g. occurrences of front rounded vowels. On the other hand, interference may not come to the speaker's awareness at all, e.g. types of instability within the system. The manifestation of interference is therefore not only dependent on the types of interference, but also on the individual sensitivity towards language and the social context.

This study is meant to record the linguistic situation in one Alberta German-speaking community; it is also meant to throw some light on the phenomenon of interference in such a linguistically complex community as Barrhead. If the initial step taken here encourages further study in this area, one of the purposes of this thesis will be fulfilled.

Suggestions for further study include therefore:

1. To describe the morphology, syntax and lexicon of the dialects under study in this thesis.
2. To examine interference in morphology, syntax and lexicon.
3. To examine in more detail socio-linguistic factors where they appear to have a bearing on the linguistic situation.

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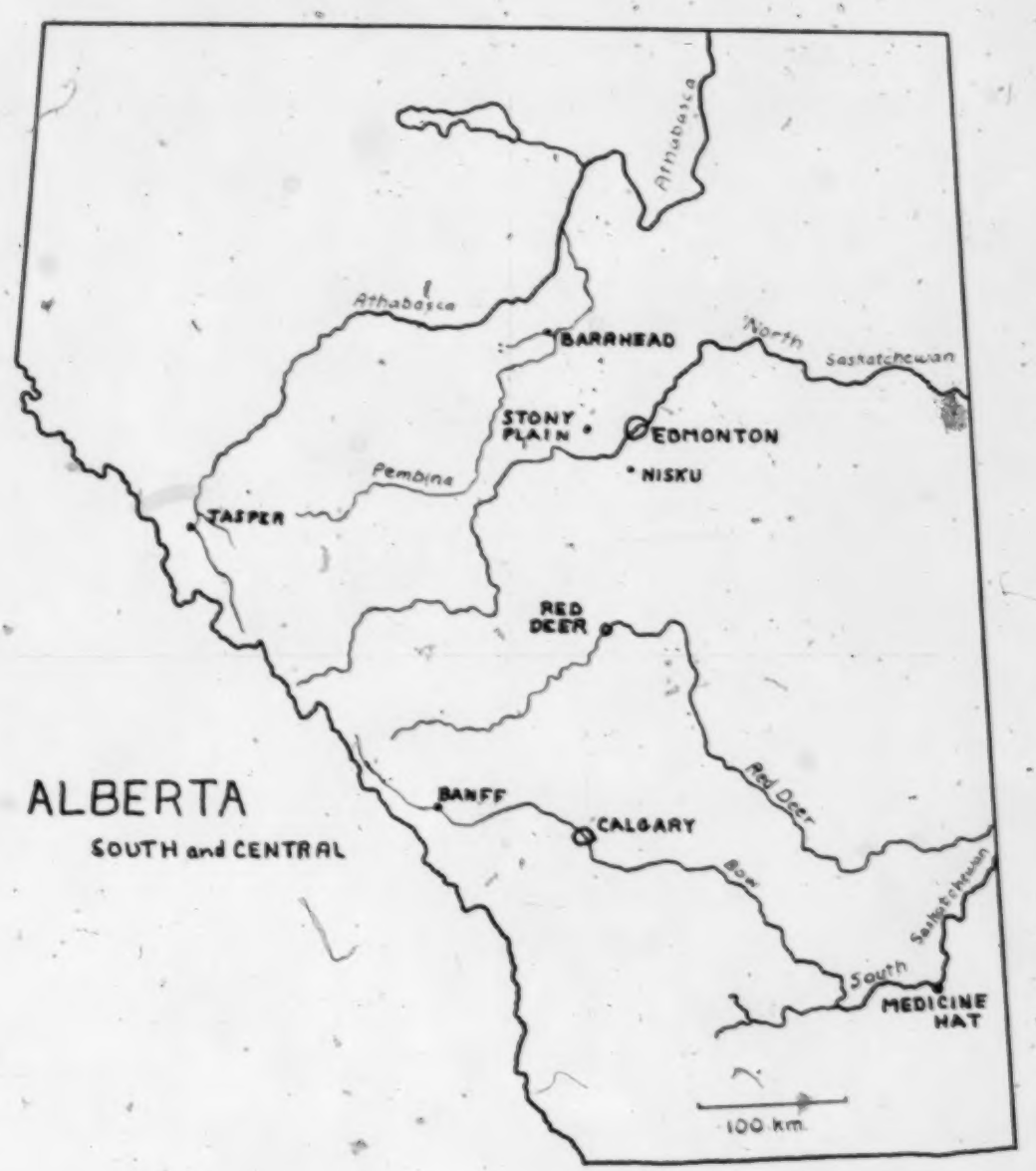
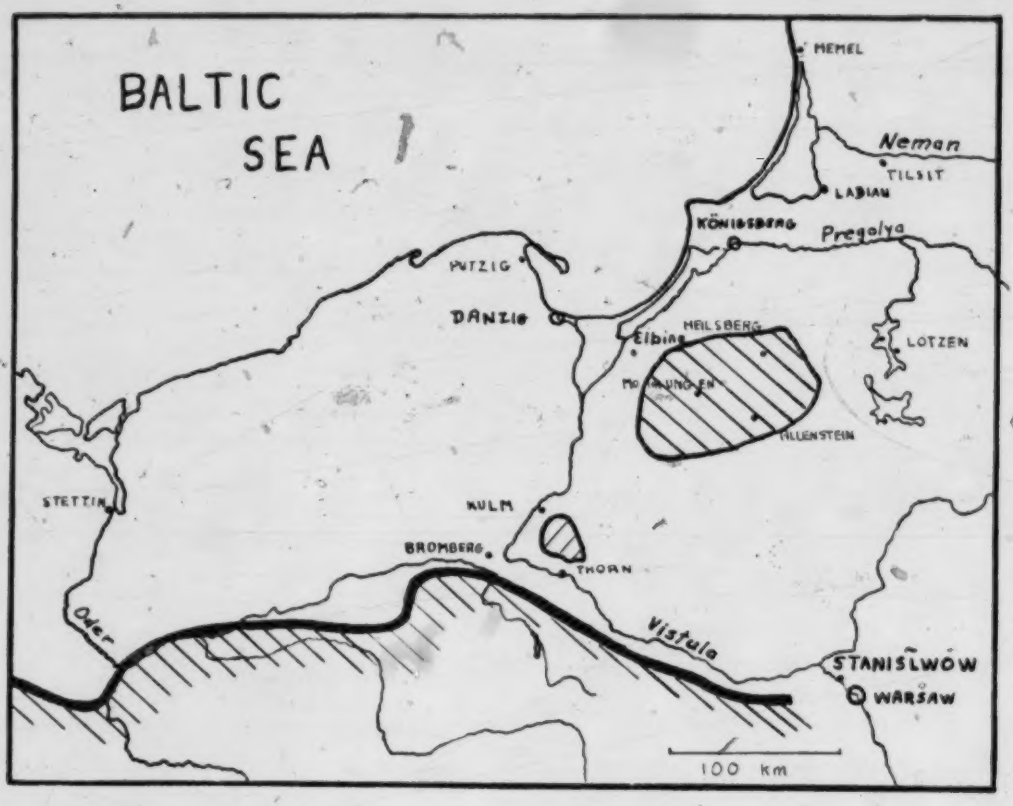


APPENDIX-A

Map of Alberta showing places mentioned in this thesis.



APPENDIX B

Map showing the north-east corner of the German Reich, and the place of origin of the Low German-speaking informant as referred to in Chapter I.

Legend: Low German — blank space
Middle German — shaded area \\\ and below the fat line
Upper German — shaded area ///

APPENDIX C

Map showing areas of settlement of the Donauschwaben as referred to in Chapter I.

APPENDIX D

Map showing Volhynia, and the place of origin of the Volhynian German-speaking informant as referred to in Chapter I.

APPENDIX E

Examples of morphology, syntax and lexicon

This is a list containing abnormalities and interference observed in the morphology, syntax and lexicon of two of the three dialects. Since these items occurred only in free conversation, the Low German dialect, of which no free conversation was recorded, has no part in this section. In the subjective opinion of the investigator these abnormalities are seen as deviations from the expected norm as set in Standard German. Roughly three types of abnormalities can be distinguished: 1. Dialect features which differ from Standard German usage, 2. Slips of the tongue, 3. Influence of English. Standard orthography adapted to the dialects is used in the examples.

Mr. and Mrs. Gross (Volhynian German Dialect)

Case: dative instead of accusative:

...daß ich mir hin kann setzen. (1)

...das, was mir so sehr gescheut hat (abgestossen hat). (1)

...ich hab mir rumgeschaut. (1)

accusative instead of dative:

...so wie sie mich erzählen. (1)

...die wohnt in die russische Zone. (1 or 2)

Er arbeitet in die Refinery. (1 or 2)

Sie wohnen jetzt aufs Land. (1)

Er sagte zu mich. (1)

Mer reden nach die Schrift. (1)

Wir sollten viel mehr von das Deutsche sprechen. (1)

Ehe ich bin nach die Schule gekommen... (1)

Ich bin bei meine Brüder gekommen. (1)

Bei die Zeit konnten noch nicht viele Leute englisch. (1 or 3)

Sprecht nur deutsch zu mich. (1)

Ich konnt mich nicht einmal so viel ersparen... (1)

Odd use of preposition and case:

Wir mussten weg während der Krieg. (2)

Man sollte mehr üben auf das Deutsche. (1)

Negation: Der konnt kein englisch Wort nicht sprechen. (1)

Kein Geld hat man nicht gehabt. (1)

Ich bin niemals nicht zurück. (1)

In junge Jahre hat man nicht Zeit gehabt. (1)

Word order: ...daß ich mir hin kann setzen. (1)

Es muß schon Stücker sechs Jahre sin gewesen. (1)

Und jetzt, daß mer alt ist geworden,... (1)

Ehe ich bin nach die Schule gekommen,... (2)

...und die haben gesprochen deutsch. (1)

...hab ich schon ziemlich gut englisch können sprechen. (1)

Er spricht viel besser wie er hat angefangen. (1)

...und da hats mich gezogen hier nach Kanada. (1)

Other: jewest and jewesen occur interchangeably.

Er sprecht viel besser. (spricht) (1 or 2)

Man hat gekennt. (gekannt) (1)

Er sprecht viel besser wie er hat angefangen. (als am Anfang) (2)

...derf man sich nicht so weit wegtragen von Heim, von Hause. (2)

Sone Leute, was kommen her... (1)

English influence, loan words, loan translations

Bicycle kann ich nicht mehr fahren.

Die ist in die russische zone [zo:n].

Sie wurden ausgewiesen there und dann...

Well, man lebt hier ganz gut.

Es ist so, daß da alles geeigent wird. (Translation of English 'to own')

Jeder konnt was eigen. (English 'to own')

Die leben ganz gut in einem Weg, aber n'andern Weg... (English 'in one way...')

...darf man sich nicht so weit wegtragen von Heim ('from home')

...nicht sone pollution-Luft wie in Deutschland.

Gladys ist on diesseits Calgary. ('this side')

Sie haben gechanged ihre Wohnung.

Die Kinder gleichen nicht so gut wie in die Stadt. (gefallen - 'to like')

Gehn in die Stadtschule mit dem [bʌs].

Es meint ja alles dasselbe. ('it means')

Wir waren Nachbars gewesen.

Was die Farmers hier kriegen...

Zwei Jahre zurück ('two years ago', meaning 'back').

Ich möchte, at least, ein oder zwei Monat nach Deutschland gehen.

Die hatten, at least, zehn Arbeiter.

Ich habe mich viel aufgeschärft ('sharpened up').

Die [jʊ'naɪtɪt] Staaten.

jemixt englisch und deutsch.

Bei die Zeit konnten noch nicht viele Leute englisch. ('at that time')

Ich war in Saskatchewan before ich nach Alberta kam.

Alle before dem 1. Krieg.

Man hat sich nicht können aufarbeiten lassen ('to work oneself up').

Und ich habs auch gut getan ('I have done well').

Mr. and Mrs. Greilach (Swabian Dialect)

The auxiliary sein occurs in the 1. and 3. persons plural present tense as sein instead of sind:

Da sein mer in die Kirch gang.... (1)

Vor dem 1. Weltkrieg sein wir reinkom. (1)

Sie sein vertrieben. (1)

Sein schon alle gestorben, was kum sein von unser Gegend. (1)

But the infinitive of auxiliary sein occurs as sinn:

Das hät nit solle sinn. (1)

Negation: Damals waren grad keine nicht herum. (1)

Word order: Sein alle schon gestorben, was kum sein von unser Gegend. (1)

Das hät nit solle sinn. (1)

Dann hamer misse in Halifax e Woch bleibe. (1)

...daß mer die 400 nicht hat kenne in 10 Jahr zahle. (1)

Damals hescht ke Geld kenne mache. (1)

Other: Die Fässer mit den zeitigen Trauben (for reif). (1)

Die Kinn (for Kinder). (1)

English influence, loan words, loan translations:

Heimstätt (for 'homestead')

Unser ['da^{e} əlɛkt]

Serbisch is härter e Wort reinbringe als englisch. (meaning schwieriger, translation of english 'harder'.)

reingemixt

Des is e mixture.

Damals waren grad keine nicht herum (translation of english 'to be around').

Damals hescht ke Geld kenne mache (English 'to make money').

Rebchicken (for Rebhühner)

Mit de logs, die habe mer zusammengestellt (House construction).

Ein Mädle ist noch nicht geheiratet (either from English: 'is not married', or else confusion of the two German possibilities: 1. hat noch nicht geheiratet, 2. ist noch nicht verheiratet.

Both the Greilachs and the Grosses ignored the formal use of the personal pronoun 'Sie'.